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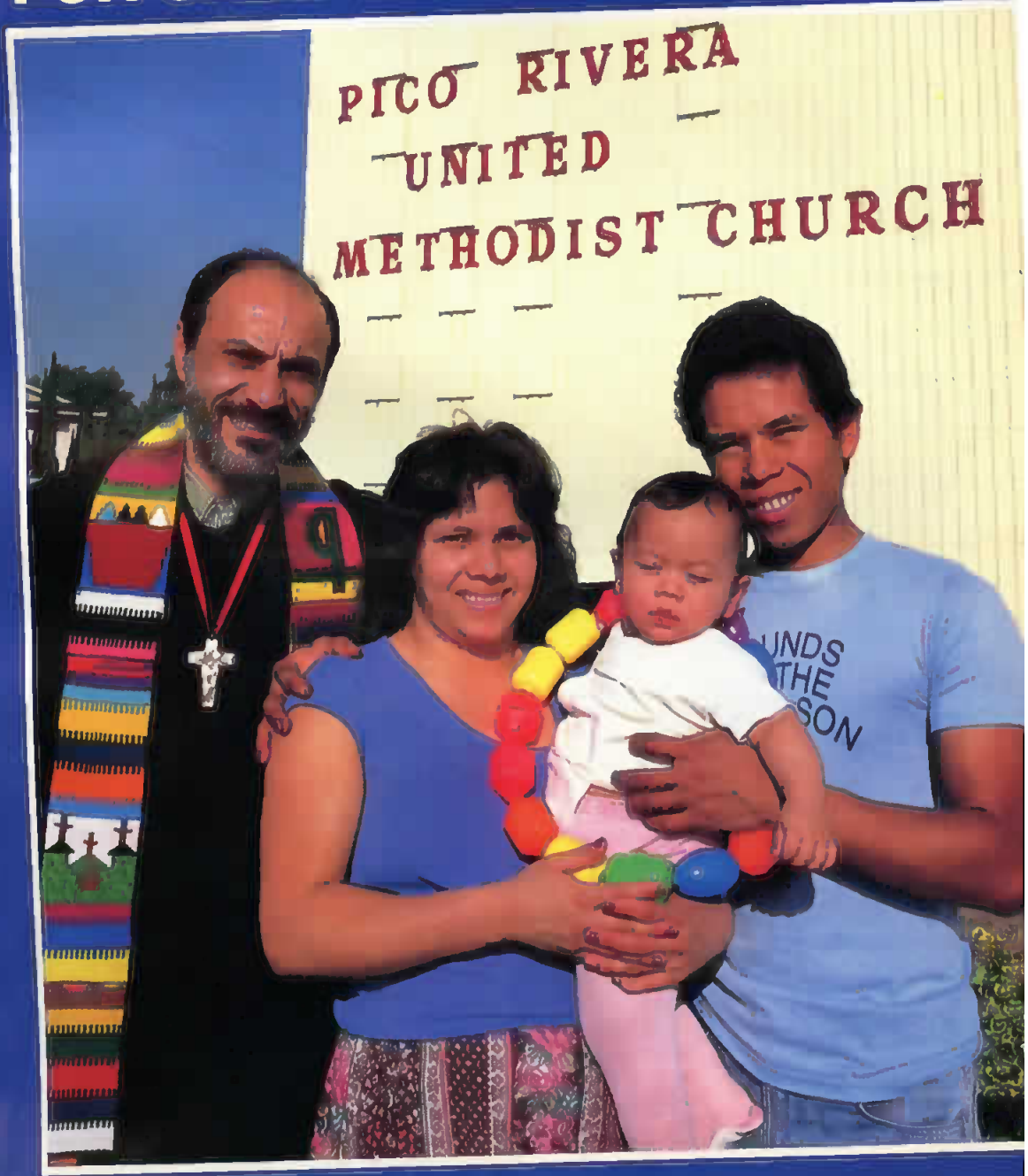

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Rebel Against the Courts

I am writing this statement from the Springfield Federal Penitentiary in Springfield, Missouri. I am here for a psychiatric evaluation while serving a 60-day sentence for contempt of court because I yelled some obscenities and spit at a federal judge, and I assure you that the next judge that violates my individual rights will get the same treatment. It is about time that judges in this country realize that they can no longer continue to violate our civil rights and get away with it. Many of the individual liberties that we Americans gained by the very liberal Supreme Court headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, have been placed in jeopardy by the present Court, appointed largely by Richard Nixon. The present Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren Burger is an ignorant neo-fascist nerd, so unbelievably dumb that he thinks manual labor is a Mexican. You can bet your last dollar when I am elected president of this country, I will demand that Congress start impeachment proceedings against Burger immediately. It may be difficult for many of you to understand why I am so contemptuous toward the courts in this land. It has gone beyond contempt. I am obsessed with the ideal that the judiciary system in America must be restructured, with the primary concern being the safe-guarding of our individual freedoms. We must no longer bow at the feet of fascism. These judges are not gods, and we should not treat them as though they were. They are our public servants! We are not theirs. I urge every American to join me in a united effort to get the courts in this land to respect our rights. Understand that they can't put all of us in jail because then they would be unemployed. If you are reading between the lines that I am asking for a revolution you are right, and if you don't have the courage to do it for yourself, for God's sake, do it for your loved ones. Think of their future. It is your obligation to make it a better world for them to live in. I am not advocating violence unless it is necessary. I am simply asking that every person who believes in the principles of a free society take to the streets and demand it. That is the only way that it will happen. Wishful thinking will achieve nothing.

Larry Flynt

Editor and Publisher

The Rebel

Larry Flynt
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Mae Brussell, Jeff Cohen, Donald Freed, Peter Lake, Timothy Leary, Jonathan Marshall, Josh Martin, Russell Means, Madalyn Murray O'Hair, Don Ray, Peter Dale Scott, Tom Turner. Murray Waas, Louis Wolf
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Sandra Chapman, Cecille Williams
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANTS

The Rebel Magazine, Inc.

Robert Groden
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER

Ivan Nesser
VICE-PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING

Irwin Billman
CIRCULATION CONSULTANT

Mike Heinrich
PRODUCTION MANAGER

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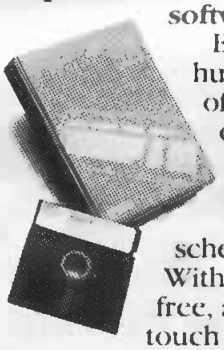

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Surf II

Starring Eddie Deezen, Linda Kerridge, Cleavon Little, Morgan Paull, Ruth Buzzi and Lyle Waggoner
Written and directed by Randall Badat
International Film Marketing

Hot Dog . . . The Movie

Starring David Naughton, Patrick Houser, Tracy N. Smith and Shannon Tweed
Directed by Peter Markle
MGM/UA Entertainment

What these two films have in common, more than anything else, is the manner in which they aim straight at the groin of the demographic heartland, the teenage male moviegoing audience. *Surf II* and *Hot Dog . . . The Movie* are highly processed exemplars of the post-*Animal House* party-hearty mentality. Formulas react with other formulas in both these films, and I'm beginning to believe that it takes a new kind of para-sophisticate to appreciate them in all their generic glory.

Surfing and skiing, the sports around which the films are organized, are activities whose status to a certain extent has to do with the relatively large amount of leisure time you need at your disposal to become adept at them. Both films, therefore, reject work in favor of leisure, and in this way they differ from such films as *Risky Business*, *Fast Times at Ridgemont High* and even *Valley Girl*, within all of which labor was integrated as an unpleasant if inevitable facet of everyday life, to varying degrees.

Surf II and *Hot Dog* parallel each other in several ways, and provide windows for us old wheezers into the snappy little minds of the Children of Lowered Expectations. *Surf II*'s rabid absurdity (oldsters in it have names like Chief Boyardee and Inspector Underwear), references to other films (*Jaws I, II* and *3-D*; *Star Wars*; *Blood Beach*, *Fast Times*, *Animal House* and *The Nutty Professor* come quickly to mind as movies referred to), and spoofing of media gimmickry (its subtitle is "the

"Surf II" *is the kind of film that appeals to the senses*

***Eddie Deezen plays a nutty kid scientist in* "Surf II"**

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Larry Flynt

Editor & Publisher

end of the trilogy") all combine to make it a reflection of reflections of society, something both distant but at the same time eerily capable of serving as an oily dipstick into the brain of Today's Youth.

The films each center around a competition involving their respective sport and the efforts of a scoundrel to put a kibosh on the protagonists' chance of winning at the form of play they've devoted their lives to. In *Surf II*, Jerry Lewis act-alike Eddie Deezen plays a rejected nerd who takes revenge on the surfing contingent by force-feeding them Buzzz Cola ("the most revolutionary soft drink since Aspen"), which turns them into thrash-dancing, garbage-eating, cosmeticized "punk rockers." In *Hot Dog* the good-natured, fun-loving American freestyle ski team is set against a group of pushy Prussians led by the manly Rudi (John Patrick Reger). In both cases it's Us against Them, but also in both cases They are simply a dark reflection of Us.

If you look to the bottom of the bottle in each of these films, however, you'll find that the real culprits are a pair of older males (surfers Bob and Chuck's fathers in *Surf II*; has-been freestylers in *Hot Dog*), and that capitalism is their particular nastiness. The young white Americans must somehow continue to practice the ritualized maneuvers of their respective sports while avoiding the restrictions of both an adult economy and the Other, as represented by a foreign culture (Austrian competition) and a domestic subculture (punk zombies).

So what exactly is being sold at the youth market these days? For a start, and as usual, sex—and lots of it. Rarely have as many breasts been bared in any movie as in *Surf II*. Yet other than something for the audience to ogle, the female anatomy is presented in the film as a curse (Deezen's anger stems from the fact that he was slipped some hormones that gave him breasts and thus made him unsuitable for beach life; the fathers also experience a sex change); or, as in one scene, as blunt instruments; and finally, in another, are ignored entirely since surfing takes precedence over sex for Bob and Chuck.

Hot Dog takes a different turn on the subject, but is no less insulting. The particularly unlikable John Denver retread of a protagonist (Patrick Houser) is colored in here as a hard-working farmer who saves up his cow-milking money in order to enter the Squaw Valley ski competition. The abrasive female hitchhiker he picks up and beds (Tracy N. Smith), responds to any other woman given speaking lines in the film with singular venom. Bob and Chuck's perfunctory girl friends in *Surf II* treat all other women the same way; so much for the furtherance of sisterhood on the teenage wasteland.

***Great skiing sequences and plenty of sex are the results of* "Hot Dog"**

The new spate of teensploitation pix takes unceasing delight in undermining language. The surfers are charmingly inarticulate to a turn, as if director Randall Badat felt that two words would suffice as an acting directive: Sean Penn. Their remarks seldom transcend such pouty one-word exclamations of delight as "gnarly," "awesome" and "bogus," although Bob's reading of the line "I fully forgot" deserves some kind of recognition. The skiiers are mainly reduced to ethnic stereotypes, with the occasional inarticulate drug user thrown in for color. Thus the art of each film presumably rests in the sometimes eloquent sports photography, if you go in for that sort of thing.

After all this, what *Surf II* has most going for it is that it's a veritable cornucopia of pop culture: Black-velvet Elvis paintings hang next to autographed photographs of Jerry Lewis. The sound track is a hip potpourri of junk music ranging from the Beach Boys and Ventures to Wall of Voodoo and the Circle Jerks (almost all of it indigenous to Southern California, by the way), while *Hot Dog* at one point resorts to actual easy-listening garbage and nondescript rock. In *Surf II* junk food—literally—is ingested during the most disgustingly graphic eating contest ever filmed. *Hot Dog*, on the other hand, opts for an easy-viewing tone that cites no cultural figures more renowned than Jean-Claude Killy.

Since all of us tend to desire what we see others desiring, and are thus subject to manipulation by those who want us to want what they have to sell, films such as *Surf II* and *Hot Dog* can be seen as pernicious image appetizers for those raised in a society with deeply imbedded consumerist tendencies. The kind of lives sold in these pictures are particularly harrowing in their insular hedonism; almost as bad as growing up, perhaps. ***—Richard Gehr***

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Books

Dictatorships and Double Standards

By Jeane J. Kirkpatrick
Simon and Schuster/$7.95

This collection of articles and essays by the Reagan Administration's ambassador to the United Nations provides some important clues as to just exactly where much of Ronald Reagan's foreign policy originated.

When Reagan appointed Jeane Kirkpatrick as ambassador to the UN, most people considered it a tokenistic gesture toward women. The shrewder political analysts in Washington saw it as a reward for Kirkpatrick's desertion of the Democratic Party—where through 1976 she had been about as close to being a regular party boss as the '70s permitted. Either way, the ambassadorship was a plum; a prestigious job requiring grace, intelligence, and diplomatic skills, but no great repository of power. The UN ambassador is traditionally third fiddle when it comes to foreign policy. The real decisions are made either by the Secretary of State or by the director of national security, depending on which one can consolidate his position with the president before the other.

It was a surprise to everyone when Jeane Kirkpatrick openly contradicted Secretary of State Alexander Haig in 1981. Even more amazing was that as the discord between them reached a level suggesting anarchy in the administration, Haig was unable to muzzle or fire Kirkpatrick. In the end, it was Haig who was ousted. Kirkpatrick had clearly emerged victorious, and with the new Secretary of State chosen for his tight-lipped team-player quality rather than for any particular skills in international affairs, Kirkpatrick's emergence to even greater prominence was assured.

In September 1983 an editorial in *The Nation* suggested that if Schultz leaves, the next Secretary of State could very well be Jeane J. Kirkpatrick. Her influence has already helped to shape U.S. policy toward Central America and the Caribbean. Kirkpatrick was the most enthusiastic proponent of the Kissinger commission on Central America; and when the U.S. invaded Grenada in October, Kirkpatrick was the most visible and consistent administration spokesperson to defend that action in the media.

Kirkpatrick's prominence can be explained two ways. One is that she is one of the few political scientists in the administration, and possibly the only one with a coherent set of views. The second is that Kirkpatrick may be the architect of Reagan's Latin American policy. Two of the essays in the collection, "Dictatorships and Double Standards" (1979) and "U.S. Security and Latin America" (1981) certainly seem like blueprints for current U.S. policies.

Kirkpatrick blames Jimmy Carter for having "lost" both Iran and Nicaragua by openly assisting anti-U.S. forces in those countries. She describes Carter's human rights policy as idealistic meddling in the internal structural makeup of other societies, and condemns his alleged sympathetic attitude toward revolutionary forces who were openly hostile to the U.S.

Kirkpatrick goes on to accuse the Carter Administration of directly undermining the Shah and Tacho Somoza, both of whom she considers "moderate autocrats." "Both rulers," she concedes mildly, "sometimes invoked martial law to arrest, imprison, exile, and occasionally, it was alleged, torture their opponents. Both relied for public order on police forces whose personnel were said to be too harsh, too arbitrary, and too powerful."

Kirkpatrick blames everyone from Zbigniew Brzezinski and Sol Linowitz to the Institute for Policy Studies for the foreign policy disasters of the Carter years. She proffers a view of Latin American politics and society in constant turmoil as the normal state of things. Strikes, coups, military takeovers and rebellions are all normal components of the political process as Kirkpatrick sees it. The villains are the communist guerrillas who have changed the rules in the perennially unstable political environment. According to Kirkpatrick, only the communists try to change the culture and society when they take power; the traditional power cliques are content to be in control. Aiding and abetting the communist terrorists are the "Socialist International and the Catholic Left." The socialists, including characters like ex-West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, Sweden's Olaf Palme, and Jamaica's Michael Manley, "have grown progressively enthusiastic about revolution . . . and less fastidious about the company they keep and the methods utilized. As for the Catholic Left, its interest in revolution on this earth has waxed as its concern with salvation in heaven has waned." Reading all this helps one understand why the murders of Catholic priests and nuns in El Salvador is not particularly repulsive to the Reagan Administration. There's no need to mourn the enemy.

The central theme of Kirkpatrick's political philosophy is an attack on what she calls "rationalist" thinking in politics. Rationalism leads to various types of utopian philosophies, all of which try to make man and society conform to an ideal. When political power and coercion become the instruments of such a transformation, the utopian philosophy becomes a totalitarian ideology. She cites the history of attempts to impose ideals on human society by force as having given us Nazi Germany, Stalinist Russia, Khomeini's Iran and Pol Pot's Cambodia.

Kirkpatrick sees any politically idealistic movement that threatens to alter the traditional customs and habits of individuals and societies as potentially totalitarian. To combat all of the "rationalist"-based movements that exist, she advocates a hard pragmatic realpolitik.

The second half of *Dictatorships and Double Standards* contains essays and articles chronicling the corrosive effects of "rationalist" thinking on domestic policy and institutions. In "Dismantling the Parties: Reflections on Party Reform and Party Decomposition," Kirkpatrick traces the decline of political parties to the reforms which began in 1972. She bemoans the replacement of the party machine by hired outside media consultants and other professionals with no particular party loyalties. In "Politics and the New Class" she continues a critique of the growing influence of intellectuals in politics. In "Why The New Right Lost" she examines the illusions of both the Wallace and Reagan campaigns in 1976, but establishes the birth of the New Right as a reaction to the New Class, which less educated workers, businessmen and farmers perceive as the dominant liberal establishment.

Kirkpatrick is a keen political analyst. Her essays on regulation and its role in limiting both equality and liberty are compelling—but whatever she writes about, there is no attempt to conceal her prejudices. She plants herself squarely on the side of the status quo, arguing that the only type of government that will protect human liberty and social equality is that which accepts the human condition as we find it. The Constitution of the United States does accept human weakness and provides the balances to guarantee that liberty and equality continue to expand as they evolve in an eternal spiral of conflict. The clash between them helps define each more clearly, but does not elevate either at the expense of the other. To Kirkpatrick, evil is the search for perfection, and perfection is the enemy of the "good."

Unfortunately Kirkpatrick's writings do not touch on how the U.S. should deal with the status quo of existing communist states. If Grenada is any clue, Kirkpatrick finds them so odious that she may, along with her benefactor Ronald Reagan, be planning to "consign them to the ash heap of history." The sponsorship of anti-Sandinista guerrillas in Honduras and Costa Rica, and the ongoing support of El Salvador's virtually impotent government lead one to believe that Kirkpatrick believes it possible to reverse the tides of revolution and anti-U.S. developments even in Latin America. ***—George Paul Csicsery***

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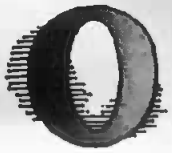

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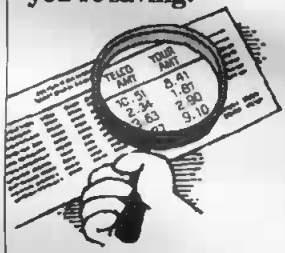

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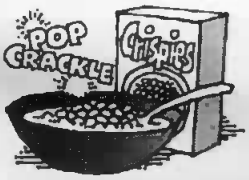

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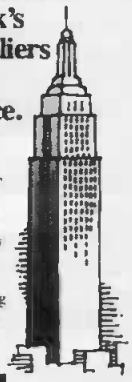

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Television

A Walk Through the 20th Century with Bill Moyers

A series of 19 documentary specials

Premiere show: "Marshall, Texas; Marshall, Texas." WNET/Thirteen, New York, and KQED/San Francisco.

Bill Moyers is the best of the media's liberal commentators. When one thinks of him, the word decency comes to mind; also honesty and fair-mindedness. In his new television series, *A Walk Through the 20th Century*, Moyers has set himself the task of using his considerable intelligence and sensitivity as a social critic to tell us about the events of the past 84 years, and what they signify for the present and for the future.

Through the coming year on alternate Wednesday evenings (with some variation), Moyers is offering 19 documentary studies written in his own distinctive low-key but illuminating style. Topics include "Theodore Roosevelt and His Times"; the development of three weapons of mass destruction (the machine gun, the submarine and the bomber plane); "The Democrat and the Dictator" (about FDR and Hitler); the black revolution in America in two hour-long segments starring Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee; "World War II: The Propaganda Battle"; America's love affair with the automobile; "Postwar Hopes, Cold War Fears"; "The Twenties"; the story of pioneer coal miners in Colorado; and more.

Moyers chose for the 90-minute debut of his series what might at first seem a rather eccentric subject—the demise of the small town. He focuses on Marshall, in northeast Texas, population 20–25,000, which happens to be his own hometown. But at the beginning of this century, America was a nation of small towns, many of which, like Marshall, had sprung up along the railroad tracks that spanned the country. And the attitudes, values and morés of these whistle stops to a large extent defined what it meant to be an American.

The keynote of Moyers' subtle, finely-crafted film essay is change. Reared in Marshall in the '30s and during World War II, he left in the early '50s to attend the

Bill Moyers

University of Texas and has not lived there since. But his parents still reside there and he goes back to visit from time to time, always "struck by how the place has changed." The town you see today, Moyers points out in his opening remarks, "is a new town perched on the memory of one that's gone."

Moyers skillfully evokes the old Marshall, counting the losses. One old-timer reminisces with him about how boys in his day made a game of sneaking aboard locomotives when they stopped briefly in Marshall for water. What a glorious sensation it was to ride up front with the engineer! An octogenarian describes a lifetime of fishing the mysterious bayous, shaded by cypress and hanging moss, of nearby Caddo Lake. He jokes that he's caught every fish in the lake, twice. Moyers himself hooked his first fish in that lake and he, too, stood near the railroad tracks and dreamed of far-off destinations.

Moyers and his high school classmate, Joe Goulden—now a writer living in Washington, D.C.—discuss the warm feeling of belonging they experienced as youngsters in Marshall. They remember a teacher, the stern and exacting Miss Selma, who cared about her students and imparted love of good literature to them. Didn't every small town have a Miss Selma? As for the churches, Moyers tells us, they taught the old story that "assigned a plot to the universe and told us our role in it."

Nor was Marshall without food for the senses and the soul. A local eatery, he says, served the best barbecued pork sandwiches anywhere. The fragrance of magnolia blossoms perfumed the night air. And the old codger who made moonshine in the backwoods would weave tall tales to sharpen a boy's wits and stir his imagination.

The noted historian Richard Hofstadter pointed out in his work *The American Political Tradition* the "ravenous appetite for Americana" among his compatriots, and complained: "This quest for the American past is carried on in a spirit of sentimental appreciation rather than of critical analysis." Hofstadter suggested that behind this "overpowering nostalgia" was a sense of insecurity about current political directions. Insecurity is deeper than ever today, but what distinguishes Moyers' presentation is that he avoids the temptation to idealize and romanticize his hometown. Instead, he casts a cold eye, balancing debits against assets.

As it turns out, the debits were many. Gradually, we become aware of the conservatism and provincialism of the place. Its pervasive piety could "stifle a teenager's fancy" and "didn't always leave much room for new ideas," Moyers reports. The esteemed schoolmarm of his youth now seems a woman whose life had been so constrained that she made a fetish of propriety. (Her sister, Miss Emma Mae, formerly principal of Marshall Junior High School, confides to Moyers that it struck fear in her heart to pass a saloon on a Saturday afternoon, just to imagine that a drunk might stagger outside.) In fact, Marshall was a cultural wasteland. There was little upward mobility and the best and brightest young people tended to leave for greener fields as Moyers and writer Goulden had done.

Finally, Moyers lets us in on the Ugly Secret of the old Marshall: It was a town torn in two; was, in fact, two distinct towns, one white and one black, with a population about equally divided between the races. Marshall's heritage was slavery, Civil War, lynchings and Jim Crow. Blacks attended separate churches, separate schools, drank from separate water fountains. Goulden relates the horror he felt when, as a child of about 11 or 12, a neighbor showed him an old photograph of a lynching of five or six black people, along with a piece of the rope allegedly used in the bloody deed.

Fortunately for the viewer, Marshall happens to have been the hometown, too, of an illustrious and eloquent black American, James Farmer, the founder of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Farmer was born in Marshall and studied at the local all-black school, Wiley College, where his father taught. It is Farmer who tell us what it was like to live in the other Marshall.

Farmer explains that when black people went into town to see a movie, they had to enter the theater by a side door and sit in the balcony, called "the buzzard's roost." "We could not go into any restaurant downtown . . . We could not eat at the lunch counter in any of the drug stores,

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any of the variety stores. We could not go into any of the hotels. We thought about it as little as we could, because it was painful to think of the fact that we were told, 'You're not good enough to associate with other people.' " In shopping for clothes, blacks were not allowed to try anything on before purchasing it.

Farmer spoke to Moyers about "the conflict within my own soul in opposing segregation by words but in deeds adapting to it." The founding of CORE, he said, was "stimulated by that contradiction I felt when I was here at Wiley."

What brought change to Marshall? Farmer told Moyers that he always believed it would be particularly difficult to end segregation in Marshall, because it was a place where "the two worlds—the black world and the white world which, it seemed to me, passed like ships in the night—had such little contact." He felt the town "had a built-in resistance to change," since the people were quite comfortable with things the way they were and nearly everyone, black as well as white, operated according to long-standing rules of conduct.

But the old way of life did give way to the new as the economic base of the town eroded. The railroad faded from importance and a lignite coal industry took its place. King Cotton disappeared. The old town square became a relic as people flocked to suburban shopping centers. The lure of urban areas, such as Dallas to the west, became increasingly attractive. And by 1960 black youths were in revolt.

Addressing a class at his alma mater in Marshall, Farmer said: "I cannot tell you how pleased I was when I picked up the *New York Times* one morning and saw that Wiley College students were a part of it. They too were marching. That made me weep." Concludes Moyers: "The Marshall I knew is remembrance only. I will tell my grandchildren of a small town in America that, for better or worse, is no more." —***Walter and Miriam Schneir***

"The Arming of the Earth" airs Feb. 8 on public TV as part of **A Walk Through the 20th Century**

Growing Up Stoned

Written by Robert Niemack and Ann Hassett
Directed by Robert Niemack
HBO

It seems that every 15 minutes some new celebrity is biting the bullet and revealing their chemical or alcohol dependency to the world in a press release—beating the *National Enquirer* or the *Globe* to the punch. Elizabeth Taylor (coached by earlier postulant Betty Ford), Johnny Cash, Peter Lawford all have within the last month checked into the sort of detoxification and behavior modification centers flacked ceaselessly on TV by people like Gale Storm. An apparently sincere article recently said that attendance at Alcoholics Anonymous meetings was not only considered chic in certain L.A. show business circles, but "a nice place to meet men"—classier somehow than attendance at the singles bars that perhaps forced the issue. But it ain't just the rich and famous and *older* folks who've got a problem. The HBO documentary *Growing Up Stoned* is introduced by a few baldly stated statistics: 90 percent of high school seniors have used alcohol, 50 percent of high school seniors have used pot, and 1 out of 10 high school students get stoned *every day*. In Georgetown, Texas, the home of one of the three kids HBO focuses on, they get in their cars at the noon break and drive off to partake of their regular lunch—a burger and a joint. Then they return to their afternoon classes, where they doze—"If they're not creating a disturbance, I let them sleep," one motherly teacher admits. Her question to Adam, the dozer in question—"What's another name for the filibuster room in the Senate?"—is not calculated to galvanize even a non-befuddled brain, but Adam fields it with a calculated, exaggeratedly druggy double take, playing to his class audience like a junior-grade Richard Pryor.

The three kids *Growing Up Stoned* examines are attractive, fresh-faced, middle-class, even fairly articulate, except about why they do drugs. "I'm gonna keep on until I get sick of it," one of them says cheerfully; the disregard these children feel for their health is awesome. The drug-

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Television

sleepy Adam says, "If it started affecting my health or—um—my brain, I'd quit." John, 15 years old, from Indianapolis, Indiana, wants to "drink as long as I can"; when his mother retorts "till you fall flat on your face," he says "I'm not at that point yet." Enlightened self-interest doesn't seem to figure in here. Heather, age 16, from St. Paul, Minnesota, only realizes after the fact that getting drunk before swim practice could mess up reaction time or breathing underwater; when she runs her car off the road, totalling it with six schoolmates aboard, her basic reaction is, "so I just had a couple of drinks too many and I smashed my car, big deal."

Ludicrous recitations of drug and alcohol use abound: "What did you drink?" asks the social worker, gently extracting details of a riverside party from a giggling, slurring teenybopper who's already copped to doing three or four numbers—"Bacardi, Jim Beam whiskey, Southern Comfort and beer," she reels off, but isn't sure how many actual *drinks* she had. "Well, how much do you usually drink?" he prods. "Till I'm drunk!" John says with quite pride, "The different drugs I've taken is pot, I smoke pot, I drink a lot, 'ludes, and acid, and cocaine. I did cocaine once, took acid once, I did 'ludes several times, and I smoke pot, a lotta times, that's my main, and drinkin's my main."

Heather, recalling an early morning drinking party washing down Egg McMuffins before 10 a.m. swim practice, remembers "vodka, a bottle of tequila, beer and some brandy." At this point, you wonder where they get the money for all this stimulation—for, as the narration intones, drugs and alcohol are "just a handshake away from every teenager in America," and one presumes that along with the handshake comes some actual folding money. Well, just like their elders, they steal. "John stole money from every member of the family," his mother confesses, "and I got to where at one point I would go to bed with my purse wrapped around my leg under the covers simply to hide it."

To confound expectations, all of the kids are talented in some way: Adam plays guitar so well he enters the Conservatory, John was the highest-scoring player on his junior high school basketball team, Heather is on the swim team and gets straight A's. But in this world that Robert Louis Stevenson said "is so full of a number of things that I'm sure we should all be as happy as kings," these kids' mental and spiritual resources seem low. John, while enjoying a Sunday afternoon cocktail of swigs from a paper-bagged bottle of cheap whiskey alternating with pulls at a can of cola, said, "If I quit, my life would be boring, I know that, 'cause Tod, he quit for about five months and he said his life was an absolute bore." John says that "When I'm stoned I don't think about them problems and I don't deal with 'em . . . but when I'm straight I have to deal with them and they're always there when I get off being high, so that's why I stay stoned about 24 hours a day." When questioned further, of course, it turns out that the problems he wants to avoid are mostly ones created by drug use.

So why do these children *use*, starting at the age of 10 or 11? Two out of three come from "broken," though ostensibly stable and solvent, homes; the third is adopted. Adam's father used marijuana casually around the house, and doesn't mind the idea of his son smoking a reefer once a week at a party; they even got stoned together once in a misguided attempt at "communication." Heather's mother, herself a recovered alcoholic, sober for eight years, can't stand the thought of her daughter repeating her own mistakes. John's parents, non-users, want him to clean his act up now "before he ends up behind prison walls," which seems possible, since he has threatened his mother with a kitchen knife, tried to drop his younger brother down the chimney, and stolen the family car to go joy-riding without a license while drunk.

The prognosis for the three is decidedly mixed. Adam moved away from home after a fight with his father, is in guitar school, and still uses pot; John, expelled from school and on probation after the knife-wielding and joy-riding episode, broke probation and served 33 days in juvenile detention, was then expelled from two high schools and a drug-treatment hospital for fighting, and is back in juvenile detention awaiting a new sentence. Heather, enrolled in a detoxification program in a Minneapolis hospital, entered intensive family therapy, joined AA, and has now been sober for six months. It's a sign of the skill and talent with which *Growing Up Stoned* was put together that we care about these kids and what happens to them. Alas—and it's no surprise—there are no easy answers. The successful treatment of the problem seems to need both great determination on the part of a naive child, and major financial commitment on the part of the already suffering parent. It's a sobering and non-exploitative hour.

—Meredith Brody

Adam Temple is one of the kids in the documentary **Growing Up Stoned**

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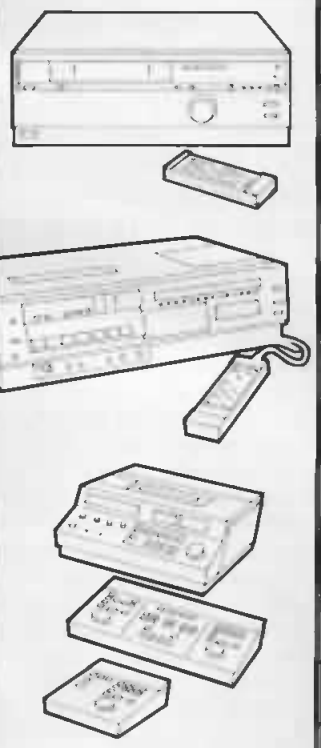

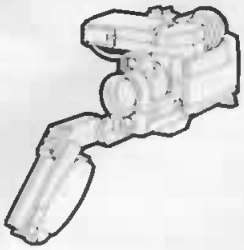

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Theatre

Do Lord Remember Me

By James DeJongh
Starring Giancarlo Esposito, Frances Foster, Ebony Jo-Ann, Lou Meyers, Roger Robinson
Directed by Regge Life
The American Place Theater, New York City

The United States often seems a nation stricken with amnesia. But this amnesia is highly selective. Official history celebrates its own upbeat version of the past and glosses over or ignores the rest. But during the ferment of the '60s and early '70s, earnest efforts were made to recover some of the lost history of blacks, women, labor, native Americans and political radicals. In this important enterprise, the theater played an exciting part. Historical drama about the recent and distant past flourished, with such plays as *Endecott and the Red Cross, Indians, In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer, Inquest* and, perhaps most notably, Martin Duberman's searing documentary play, *In White America.*

Though lacking the latter play's breadth and sense of movement, James De Jongh's *Do Lord Remember Me,* which also is based on factual material, is powerful and surprisingly exhilarating theater. The timing of its current revival is particularly fortuitous, coinciding with both the birthday of Martin Luther King and Black History Month.

That these few precious fragments of the memories of freed slaves have been saved for posterity is a story in itself. During the Great Depression, President Franklin Roosevelt created the Works Projects Administration to provide jobs for the unemployed. At the time it was fashionable for the affluent to poke fun at the boondoggles and useless leaf-raking allegedly performed by WPA employees. But today across America, those workers have left us a heritage of post offices and other public buildings, murals and paintings, forests and parks, guidebooks and invaluable historical reseach. One of the most lasting accomplishments was that of the WPA's Federal Writers Project that in the '30s sought out and interviewed surviving ex-slaves then in their 80s and 90s. Fortunately, the recollections of these men and women were copied verbatim, preserving

Ebony Jo-Ann

not only their memories but the poetry of their speech. It is this poignant record of the past that has been skillfully fashioned by DeJongh into a richly evocative play.

Do Lord Remember Me, the title of a black spiritual, begins with an auction block and ends with a dance of joy at the emancipation. The drama unfolds on a stage furnished with an appropriately simple set. Like the slaves themselves, the actors must draw upon their inner resources to create the sense of breathing life that is the true content of the play.

Since the experiences depicted are collective ones, characters are nameless and actors move dexterously in and out of roles with the same person playing both an old woman and a child or a slave and a slave owner. One actor portrays a naked slave on the auction block; Nat Turner explaining the reasons for his insurrection; a teller of tall tales; and a black Civil War soldier. All this is knitted together in a single piece—90 minutes without intermission.

The surprise of the show is that it is less a lament than a celebration. Of course the horror of those "unmerciful times" is here. "There was more grievin' and more cryin' . . . I had two brothers sold away an' I never seen them no more to this day." The beatings and sometime sadistic cruelty take on new meaning when we realize that the words are those of actual victims. One 86-year-old woman recalls how when she was eight years old her mistress punished her with a rawhide whip while holding her head pressed tightly under the runner of a rocking chair. As a result, her facial bones were crushed and she was disfigured for life.

"Here, put you han' on my face," she says, "right here on de lef' cheek—dat's what slavery days was like. It made me so I been goin' 'round lookin' like a false face all my life. What chilluns laugh at an' babies gits to cryin' when dey see me. Course I don't min' it no mo'. I been like dis so long dat I don't never think of it, 'ceptin' when I see someone starin' hard an' wondering what debbil got in an' made me born dis way. And it was a debbil done it—a she-debbil what's a burnin' an' twistin' in hell."

But the triumph of the slaves was that they were not turned into zombies, devoid of feeling or caring for others. Instead, within the confines of slavery they created a culture of their own, complete with customs, songs, humor, folktales. Powerless, they took what pride they could in their own abilities and autonomy: "We growed everything we et and we made everything we weared." They recalled episodes from their childhoods with relish: "We all chilluns was crazy 'bout ash cakes," one woman chortles. Their stories are comic, ribald, inspiring—a testament to human survival. The spirited performers tell them with shouts, chants, stomps and handclapping spirituals like "Can't Get Over It," or "No Man Can Hinder Me."

The heart of these survival stories is how the captives practiced sly psychological warfare against their masters. Slaves ran away to the woods to get rested from backbreaking field work for a week or two, then negotiated through intermediaries with the master for their return without a whipping. They vented their aggressions by concocting magic potions to sicken a hated overseer. They asserted their moral superiority: "If if hadn't been for white folks, niggers wouldn't know nothin' 'bout stealin.' " And they found cunning ways to broach the forbidden subject of freedom, as when Uncle Silas got up in the slave pew and innocently confronted the white preacher with the question: "Is us slaves gonna be free in Heaven?"

Several years ago, the historian Herbert G. Gutman shook up the academic world with an unexpected discovery: American blacks emerged from slavery remarkably intact as human beings. It was not slavery, Gutman says, but urban ghetto existence with its grinding unemployment and degradation that accounts for the psychological demoralization of so many poor blacks today.

The eloquent documentary accounts in this play support Gutman's conclusions. These stories were offered by uneducated and probably illiterate folk who, nevertheless, had a keen sense of the importance of history. One of them, addressing the WPA interviewers, prayed that the Lord would "give these people the strength and power to write this great history book. Let this be the greatest book next to your Bible."

Do Lord Remember Me is a lovingly wrought memorial to the faith of these amazing people.

—***Walter and Miriam Schneir***

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Rebel Roundup

A MOONIE FRONT group's $5,000 contribution to a recent California Republican youth conference has so embarrassed GOP officials there that they have fired the party worker who solicited the donation. Jackie Clair, the fired treasurer of the California Republican Youth Caucus, earlier explained that the solicitation was "just a case where our objectives meshed. They were interested in helping us to train young people for careers . . . as conservatives in politics and business." The Moon-backed organization, CAUSA (Confederation of the Association for the Unification of the Americas) has received considerable

Sun Myung Moon front helped fund a California Republican meet

publicity in recent months concerning its extensive activities on behalf of right-wing governments in Latin America (see *The Rebel*, Vol. 1, No. 1). The youth caucus president was quick to deny that the Moonies had "any direct influence on our conference," explaining that the Republican youth turned to CAUSA for financial help because they had fallen short of their fund-raising goal for the conference. A Los Angeles County Republican Party official called Clair's decision to accept the $5,000 donation "totally irresponsible" and said she "never should have accepted a contribution from a group like that." GOP officials, according to Clair, "told me I've blackened the Republican Party's reputation all across the state . . . I'm being called the Watergate of 1984." She added that "it was suggested to me that if I intend to work again in politics I should either change my name or move to another state." The Moonies' aid in underwriting the conference—which included a CAUSA address on anti-communism—was not the first time that the controversial political cult has lent its support to the Republican Party and its leaders. During the Nixon years, the Moon organization held demonstrations of support for Nixon's Vietnam War policies and strongly rallied behind him during the Watergate crisis. (*Los Angeles Times*; *The Rebel*)

GEN. GIUSEPPE SANTOVITO, the retired head of Italy's military service, has been arrested on charges of leaking state secrets to the Mafia. It is the latest brush with Italian authorities for Santovito who, over the past two years, has been interrogated by magistrates investigating a series of political scandals that have plagued the country during his tenure as chief of the secret service. Most notably the retired general has been under scrutiny for his role in the colossal scandal over the P2 Masonic lodge, accused of acting as a shadow government within Italy. Santovito's name was on a list of almost 1,000 lodge members discovered by investigators in 1981 during a search of the villa owned by the P2's "puppetmaster," Licio Gelli. Subsequent investigations revealed a vast web of intrigue and corruption with links to the Vatican, right-wing terrorism, espionage, missing millions, the underworld, and the traffic in arms and drugs. Santovito is charged with giving classified information to Francesco Pazienza, considered a key

Haig aide Michael Ledeen is linked to Italian scandal figure

man in the P2 affair and in events surrounding the mysterious death of Vatican banker Roberto Calvi. A warrant was also issued for Pazienza, who is connected to various Italian Mafia figures as well as to influential Reagan Administration strategists, such as Michael Ledeen (a former aide to Gen. Haig). The charges against Santovito and Pazienza (now a fugitive) stem from the arrest late last year of real-estate owner Alvaro Giardili, who was charged with offering bribes for building contracts in Naples and Sicily. (*Arizona Republic*)

KU KLUX KLANSMAN Henry Francis Hays has been convicted of race murder in Mobile, Alabama. A jury found 29-year-old Hays guilty of brutally murdering 19-year-old Michael Donald, who was found hanging from a tree on a city street. The for-

An Alabama Klansman has been convicted of racial murder

mer wife of Hays and two former Klansmen testified that he admitted the crime to them. Hays' accomplice, James L. Knowles, pleaded guilty to a federal civil rights charge in the killing and became a state witness against Hays. Knowles explained that the two Klansmen assaulted Donald with a tree limb and slipped a hangman's noose around his neck. Knowles said that Hays wanted vengeance against someone for the murders of children in Atlanta. (*Guardian* N.Y.)

ENDLESS MILITARY MANEUVERS along Honduras-Nicaragua border by United States military personnel are underway, despite Reagan's summer projections that the Big Pine 11 military maneuvers with Honduras' army would be temporary, ending in February. Big Pine 11 is already the largest military exercise,

involving the greatest number of U.S. troops and ships (up to 16,000 troops, dozens of large warships and hundreds of jet fighters) in the history of the region. Just as the first USAF pilot was shot down while on a surveillance mission over Nicaragua, the Reagan Administration announced it would extend the military exercises for another several months. Some observers are predicting these will run consecutively with Big Pine 11 and may become permanent. In addition, troops from the neighboring military regimes of El Salvador and Guatemala may be included, thus activating the combined armies in CONDECA, a regional governmental army capable of combating popular national movements for liberation. U.S. officials admit that the new maneuvers are intended to apply pressure on the government of Nicaragua. Nicaragua has no counter-military maneuvers planned. (*Los Angeles Times*)

UPI

Honduran soldier with U.S. field artillery trainer

WIDE WORLD

Victim of El Salvador death squads. Squads kill 20–30 people a week

DEATH SQUADS currently terrorizing the populations of U.S.-backed Latin American countries apparently originated from "an idea of an anti-communist Murder Inc. . . . generated at CIA headquarters," according to a recent Jack Anderson column. The first death squads, according to the syndicated columnist's CIA sources, were formed in 1954 under agency auspices—a charge which CIA officials deny. Protected by top-level military and government officials in the countries where they operate, the death squads, reports Anderson, have "recruited assassins from the military services, police forces and security agencies of right-wing governments." Their activities—which consist primarily of kidnapping, torture and execution of leftists and "subversives"—are coordinated by "a sinister international organization, known as La Mano Blanco (The White Hand)." A leader of the Honduras death squad told an Anderson staffer that its activities were run out of Mexico City by a front group called the Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation (CAL), the Latin American affiliate of the World Anti-Communist League, an ultra-right umbrella group with international intelligence and neo-fascist links (see *The Rebel*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp.60–61). CAL originated with a neo-Nazi splinter group called Tecos which, following World War II, was one of the leading outlets for anti-Semitic literature in the Western world. The WACL has also been tainted by anti-Semitic affiliations (such as Willis Carto, head of the ultra-right Liberty Lobby), and its 1979 conference in Paraguay was attended by two former Nazi SS officers as well as two wanted neo-fascist terrorists from Italy. (*Daily News*, Los Angeles; *Washington Post*)

ARMY CONDONES RAPING, says former grunt Betty Ann Buckmiller. The Army is refusing to pay damages to 26-year-old Buckmiller, who was raped and beaten at Ford Ord, California, 15 months ago. Buckmiller is suing to win damages for the November 1982 rape-attack by two fellow soldiers. The two attacked her when she returned to the base after being AWOL. The rapists were court-martialed and sentenced to 20 years and 40 years in prison, but the Army refuses to pay any damages to Buckmiller, or take responsibility, contending the military has no responsibility for being injured while on duty. Buckmiller says the Army considers rape as a hazard of duty. (*Los Angeles Times*; *Herald Examiner*)

PREVENTING A U.S. invasion of Nicaragua is a major concern of North American and European activists, from parliamentarians in Germany to solidarity workers here. Brigades are underway in the hundreds with the aim of thwarting Pentagon attacks. One spokesperson explained the idea: "We go in shifts so there are always some present in the most tense areas. Americans should be made to face the fact that they will be killing their countrymen and allies in Europe if the U.S. military invades this sovereign nation." The first of many volunteer work brigades close to the Honduras border is now returning home. (*Guardian* N.Y.)

CANCER RATES among Utah Mormons increased drastically, 61 percent, over the past two decades because of exposure to radioactive fallouts from nuclear bomb tests in Nevada, concluded a sturdy by the Medical Care and Research Foundation in Denver. The study provides the most chilling evidence yet linking fallout from both atmospheric and underground nuclear tests with cancer in the United States. And the reported increases in cancer, notably in childhood leukemia, may be just an "early warning of other classes of radiation-induced cancer to appear later," the report maintains. (Los Angeles *Herald Examiner*)

Rebel News

Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini rules with death squads. Executions of opponents occur daily

Secret Executions in Iran

The human rights situation under Iran's Islamic Republic is "desperate," according to Amnesty International's area coordinator for the Middle East, Curt Goering. Speaking from Amnesty's headquarters in Washington, Goering noted that the government of Ayatollah Khomeini has *officially admitted* to over 5,000 executions since it took power in 1979. "There is a lot of evidence that the actual figure is considerably higher than that,"Goering said.

AI announced in September that secret executions were becoming commonplace in Iran and that news of the killings "had been corroborated in extensive interviews with former prisoners who had been held in jails in different parts of the country." Interviews with the prisoners, AI added, "also confirmed the organization's fears that most prisoners were tortured and that in most cases defendants did not have fair trials." Victims of the killings have included teenagers and pregnant women, AI said. "The youngest said to have been killed were an 11-year-old girl in Isfahan and a boy the same age who was executed with his 18-year-old brother in Fasa, near Shiraz," the group reported.

The Iranian regime has refused to allow representatives of human rights groups to travel to the country, and in 1981 Ayatollah Khomeini referred to Amnesty as an organization "affiliated with diabolical powers." Opposition groups, including the Paris-based National Council of Resistance, have charged that as many as 30,000 people have been executed by the Khomeini regime, and that as many as 100,000 political prisoners are being held.

This is the same Khomeini who used to enjoy religious, revolutionary, political and legal authority all at once—something which no Iranian ruler had ever consolidated since the birth of Islam," said Massound Rajavi, leader of the opposition Mojahedin organization, affiliated with the National Council of Resistance. Rajavi, himself a veteran of Khomeini's jails, now speaks of Khomeini, whom his group once hailed as a hero, as "an inhuman demagogue."

Rajavi's statements are typical of those former supporters of the Islamic Republic who have since become its most implacable foes. Before he was executed in September 1982 for allegedly plotting to overthrow Khomeini, Sadegh Qotbzadeh, known to millions of Americans for his role as Iran's Foreign Minister during the hostage crisis, smuggled a note out of his prison cell in Teheran. "I want the record to be clear that I saw the light and tried as best I could to undo the damage I had done in terms of supporting the satanic regime of the mullahs (religious leaders)," he wrote in the message.

Iran's former Ambassador to the United Nations Mansour Farhang, at the time of the hostage crisis the only Iranian diplomat in the United States, was forced to flee Iran to Turkey on foot in August 1981 after President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, a close associate of Farhang's, was ousted. Farhang told this writer in a recent interview that the Khomeini regime was more repressive than that of the late Shah because Iran had become a new kind of "religious fascism." Under Khomeini, Farhang said, "The state has become interested in shaping the totality of the society, resocializing the children, glorifying death and regarding any question of the totalitarian nature of the society as a capital crime."

According to Ervand Abrahamian, an Iranian-born professor at City College in New York, the Ayatollah's statements made while in exile in Paris that the new Iran would be a democracy were misleading. "It's not just Khomeini—his whole clerical entourage never believed in democracy," he argued. "There is a lack of democratic framework in the country, partly due to the foreign pressures that have built up in the past. Whenever there has been a democratic framework, foreign powers have subverted it." Abrahamian notes that the CIA-backed coup of 1953, in which the Shah was restored to power, had made Iranians suspicious of all "foreign ideologies," and this had enabled the ruling clerics, spearheaded by Khomeini, to monopolize power.

Richard Falk, a professor at Princeton University who has become an important voice on human rights issues, also found that the Khomeini of Paris was not the Khomeini that imposed such draconian rule over Iran. "Khomeini is the dark genius of the revolution in that he unfolded slowly into a leader who turned out to be very destructive and reactionary in a way that a lot of people who were close to him did not expect," Falk said. "I talked to him in Paris, and he was very convincing that he wasn't political, and that he was going to Qom (a religious center south of Teheran) and stay out of politics."

Despite the human rights record of Khomeini (and perhaps because of it, considering that many of Khomeini's victims have been leftists), the official U.S. attitude to the regime has softened somewhat, and trade between the two countries has been picking up. The *New York Times* reported December 26 that, through October 1983, more than $1 billion worth of goods had been traded between Iran and the United States, compared to 1980, in which the U.S. imported only $23 million worth of goods to Iran. "We have neither encouraged nor discouraged trade," said an official at the Iran desk of the State Department, who asked not to be identified. "We're still not their favorite trading partner (this distinction belongs to the Japanese)—they don't really want to deal with us, but if they happen to have a plant that builds GE refrigerators, they are going to have to buy the kits from the United States." Although the official characterized relations with Iran as "very hostile," she added that the U.S. "hopes to have cordial relations with Iran in the future. If they want to resume diplomatic relations with the United States, they should first turn over the former U.S. Embassy compound in Teheran to the Swiss. That would be a symbolic gesture we would encourage them to make." The official also predicted that following the death of Khomeini, now 84, the regime would be "less radical" and more open to relations with the United States. —J.M.

China's Premier Zhao Ziyang is right-wing President Reagan's new friend in the contemporary 1984 political arena of trade-offs

Reagan's Unpredictable Commie Friends

The idea of Ronald Reagan strolling along the Great Wall of China and pressing the flesh with top Communist officials in Beijing might seem a bit surprising. After all, Ronald Reagan is a diehard anti-communist and loyal supporter of Taiwan. But Washington D.C. has a way of running politicians through the wringer so that by the time the system is done with them, their principles are nowhere to be found. Reagan, who promised balanced budgets yet brought $200 billion in deficits, appears to be no exception. China is a good example.

During the 1980 campaign, Reagan hurled angry charges at Jimmy Carter, claiming he was selling out Taiwan when he established full diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in 1979. In the process of normalization, Carter ended the U.S. defense treaty with Taiwan and broke official relations with the island republic, which the Chinese claim is part of China. This has meant that the U.S. has maintained unofficial ties with Taipei, a convenient little friction that serves the needs of diplomacy.

Real men, Reagan boasted during the campaign, don't sell out old friends and allies. Candidate Reagan promised he would stop the friction of retaining only unofficial ties with Taiwan and restore "official" diplomatic relations with his free enterprise associates in Taipei who rule the island with an iron hand.

Three years later, Reagan has made more concessions to Beijing than any American president since Richard Nixon shook hands with Mao Zedong more than a decade ago. In fact, so good has Reagan been to China that he was rewarded by Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang's visit to Washington in early January—the first time since Mao took over China in 1949 that a Chinese Prime Minister has visited the U.S.

What has Reagan done for China? The list is a long one:

- Taiwan: Not only has Reagan reneged on his campaign rhetoric, but on Aug. 17, 1982, the U.S. signed a Joint Communique with China, pledging that the U.S. did not have a long-term arms sales policy towards Taiwan and that it would not sell larger amounts of arms to Taiwan than was sold at the time of normalization with Beijing and also promised "to reduce gradually its arms sales to Taiwan leading over a period of time to a final resolution."
- HiTech: Reagan has liberalized export controls on sophisticated technology to China, some of which has military uses. China now has the same export status as NATO and Japan, and will be allowed to buy sophisticated electronic equipment, satellite ground stations, computer hardware, and software, and to build their own "Silicon Valley" semi-conductor industry.
- Textiles: Last July, the administration negotiated a new agreement with China over the objections of the textile industry and unions. The agreement allows Beijing a 3.5 percent annual growth rate in textile and apparel exports to the U.S., a growth rate far more generous than the other big Asian exporters (Taiwan, Hongkong, South Korea), who are restricted to about one percent export growth a year.
- Energy: Quiet administration lobbying helped ARCO, EXXON and other U.S. multi-national firms get oil drilling rights to the massive reserves in the South China sea. Fluor Corp and Occidental petroleum are also investing in large-scale coal mining operations.
- Nuclear: A nuclear cooperation agreement that the administration has been negotiating with Beijing for almost two years is nearly completed, and may be signed when Reagan goes to Beijing in April. The agreement will permit U.S. companies to aid China in building a nuclear power industry.
- Military: Defense Secretary Weinberger's September trip to China opened the door to U.S.-China military cooperation. Reagan wants to begin military exchanges, and the administration is looking over Chinese military hardware shopping lists. Reagan is prepared to allow China to buy anti-air, anti-tank and advanced radar equipment.
- Intelligence: The Carter Administration set up secret monitoring posts in northwest China to spy on Soviet missile tests. White House sources confirmed that U.S.-China intelligence cooperation was escalating under the Reagan Administration. State Dept. sources confirm that when Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xieqian came to Washington last October, he held a secret meeting with CIA director William Casey. Both the U.S. and China provide covert aid to anti-Soviet moslem rebels in Afghanistan and anti-Vietnamese guerrillas in Kampuchea. It is not known if the U.S. and China coordinate their aid programs. But U.S. officials confirm that the week after Wu met with Casey, the director of the Pentagon's DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency) went to China to meet with Chinese military officials.

Reagan Administration officials say that it is in their nation's interest to support China's top priority—economic modernization. They argue that a strong and independent China serves as a better bulwark against the Soviet Union. Reagan wants to consolidate China as a partner in his anti-Soviet crusade. But China will soon begin another round of talks with Moscow aimed at a reproachment. What's more, Beijing has taken a more independent foreign policy stance. China routinely decounces the U.S. in the same breath as the Soviets as "hegemonists," and has strongly criticized U.S. policy in Central America, southern Africa, the Middle East, and on Third World economic issues. **—B.M.**

Large Marijuana Growers Abuse National Forests

National forest users have long been in conflict over who should be given access to the woods. Among commercial interests, the timber industry, the mining industry, and the oil companies have wanted exclusive use of the forests. Recently a new

breed of entrepreneur—the marijuana grower—has moved in seeking a piece of the action.

The national forest offers ideal marijuana growing conditions: access to water, sun, and seclusion. On a smaller scale, the growers are implementing the same land use practices and attitudes as their larger, legal big business colleagues. Like other industries, growers misuse pesticides, divert streams, and poach deer. Some of their methods are even more drastic: growers have been known to chase hikers away with automatic weapons and booby traps. Fear of encountering a grower has kept some people out of the forest.

Certainly not all growers are malicious. Many are simply trying to earn a living in the hidden economy. But the multi-million dollar marijuana industry has attracted the greedy fly-by-night grower and the rip-off artist as well as the mom and pop grower. The growers' effort to protect their crop has changed the character of the national forest. Fish-hooks hang at eye level, punji sticks sharp enough to penetrate a hiking boot protrude out of the ground, and hand grenades with trip wires ward off both would-be thieves and innocent recreationists. Hikers who stray from the designated trails are often escorted away by growers, patrolling their turf with semi-automatic weapons.

"Perhaps the greatest environmental effect attributed to marijuana growing in the national forest is conflict with public use," Jan Seils, supervisor for the Six Rivers National Forest, explained. "Growers occupy land that is no longer available for people who want to visit the forest."

Growers establish elaborate camps in the primitive areas complete with photovoltaic cells harnessing solar energy, irrigation equipment, tarps, and propane tanks. After the harvest, some growers leave their garbage behind, and the Forest Service lacks the personnel and the motivation to haul it away and reclaim the forest. In some areas the motorcycles that growers use to commute to work erode the forest trails. Growers use chainsaws to fell trees for the bridges that they build over streams for motorcycle and foot traffic.

The Forest Service no longer patrols or maintains certain trails and hikers are discouraged from using certain areas. They fear they will be shot, and they have too few personnel. Growers control about 11 percent of the acreage in the Big Bar District of the Shasta-Trinity National Forest, perhaps the most popular marijuana growing district in California. Fear of physical harm deters wildlife scientists. "We're always extremely careful and check with the Forest Service before conducting field research," one naturalist explained. "We're not out there to turn in the grower, but because I have to be out there everyday, I can't let you use my name in print. It's gotten to be us against them."

Marijuana growers serve, scare and scar as they produce more and more pot for more bucks.

Local residents are also hesitant to speak out against the grower, though the subject is popular dinner conversation. They are grateful for the economic boost that marijuana has brought to the community, but are having second thoughts about the military atmosphere that has accompanied the booming industry.

Intimidation is not the only problem in the forest. Many growers have poor land-use ethics and it is impossible to force a grower to practice sound conservation. The small growers who've been at it a long time often use peer pressure to encourage better agricultural practices, but some larger growers are often resistant to change.

Dope-farmer land use practices and philosophies vary between counties. Humboldt County growers are generally recognized for their land stewardship and take care not to use chemicals or pesticides in their gardens. "Most people take pride in growing the herb and treat it with care," local attorney Ron Shinoway explained. "However, there is an element attracted to profits who will do anything to increase yield. If these people didn't farm marijuana they'd be robbing banks. They can't be educated," said the attorney for Civil Liberties Monitoring Project.

Unscrupulous growers use pesticides (2-4D) to defoliate their acreage and spread rodenticides to kill rats that enjoy the marijuana. The Forest Service estimates some growers use up to 300 pounds per acre of the poison. Deer also eat the cannabis, and growers shoot the animals in the gut and scatter their carcasses around the garden to frighten away other deer. Brian Replogle, captain of the Department of Fish and Game, said that it's difficult to determine the extent of the deer kill.

Marijuana gardens require large quantities of water and growers frequently divert streams and springs to feed their drip irrigation systems. "Dwight Streamfellow," a hydrologist who advises growers on irrigation techniques, claims watersheds have not been harmed. Charlie Fish, District Ranger for Big Bar, agrees that stream water diversions are not a serious problem, but adds that it sometimes destroys habitat around streams and creates shortages during droughts. The practice is a violation of state streambed regulations.

Even the careful growers are creating problems in Humboldt County. The area's geology is unstable and surface activity contributes to soil erosion. Growers homestead near the national forest on old ranches subdivided into 20 and 40 acre parcels. Roads to the new home sites follow property lines rather than geologically stable topography. The area is steep and fractured and roads are unlikely to survive seasonal storms. Long-term residents advise homesteaders on road building techniques in an attempt to minimize the problem, but as population in the area increases, erosion is inevitable. Water diversion from feeder streams and fecal matter from humans and animals have contrib-

uted to watershed degradation.

Some locals feel that the Forest Service and conservative politicians are exaggerating the land use abuses as an excuse to escalate attempts to destroy illegal marijuana cultivation. In some areas pedestrians are ordered to carry field interrogation cards. The Forest Service uses U2 spy planes and infrared scanners to locate likely dope gardens. They can't destroy all the gardens as they have inadequate resources and weapons for protection, officials contend.

"We object to high tech surveillance of the populace in the name of irradication. The government must not break the law in the name of law enforcement," said Ron Shinoway. His monitoring group has sued the federal government in an effort to stop the civil rights abuses. "Once civil rights are lost, they are never gotten back."

The Forest Service is not without its faults. Local residents point out that the Forest Service is being hypocritical in its complaints. The Forest Service sprays 2, 4-D on 2,000 to 6,000 acres of the Six Rivers National Forest each year. Rodenticides are also used. If the Forest Service were really concerned about land-use abuses, it would clean up their pulluting acts, residents contend. **—M.E.**

Documents Prove U.S. Arms Sales to South Africa

The United States government has quietly licensed the commercial export of more than $28.3 million worth of military weapons and technology to South Africa during the past three years, in violation of the mandatory arms embargo passed by the United Nations in 1977, according to a report released by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and the Washington Office on Africa (WOA).

Based partly on material released to the AFSC under the Freedom of Information Act, the humanitarian Quaker organization charges that government-approved exports of arms technology on the State Department's "munitions list" are a grave defiance of the arms embargo against the apartheid government. The UN embargo, passed with U.S. support, bars the sale of all arms or "related material" to the white-ruled country.

The State Department's Office of Munitions Control denies any violation has occurred.

"I can assure you no approval of munitions technology to South Africa has come from here," Reuben Brown, chief of statistics, told *The Rebel*. "If any commercial parts have been exported, it would not come from our office," Brown said. However, there may be no absolute control over sale of commercial parts that can be assembled and used for military purposes, Brown conceded.

Thomas Conrad, speaking for AFSC, says this is a Catch-22 arrangement that allows arms sales, in fact, by "winking at U.S. companies' military exports to South Africa," and the volume of such trade is greater than ever before.

"Rather than outright sales of large weapons systems, exports consist mainly of building blocks of modern weaponry—components, unfinished sub-assemblies and other technology that can be easily submerged in large wholesale transactions," the AFSC states.

According to the AFSC report, the State Dept. has authorized shipments of encoding devices, navigation gear, image intensifiers and technical data to South Africa. The report further cites a number of violations involving technology from the U.S. and European allies. Among them: diversion of U.S.-origin counterinsurgency aircraft and engines to military forces in two South African homelands; the shipment of U.S.-made shock batons to South Africa; use of U.S. electronics in the new South African G5 155mm howitzer and naval fast attack craft.

Other types of sensitive exports to South Africa "underscore the fact that Pretoria has a friend in the White House," according to the Quaker report, which cites government disclosures showing that the U.S. has also shipped over half a million dollars worth of "non-military arms and ammunition" plus $566 million in aircraft and related parts to South Africa.

"The U.S. government claims that these exports are for civilian use, but these products have military applications and are also on the munitions list embargo. Once this technology reaches South Africa, it will be impossible to prevent it from being used for military purposes, Thomas Conrad said.

"I think it is highly likely that some of this technology, especially the G5 canon, has been used in the recent invasions of neighboring black-ruled nations," Conrad added.

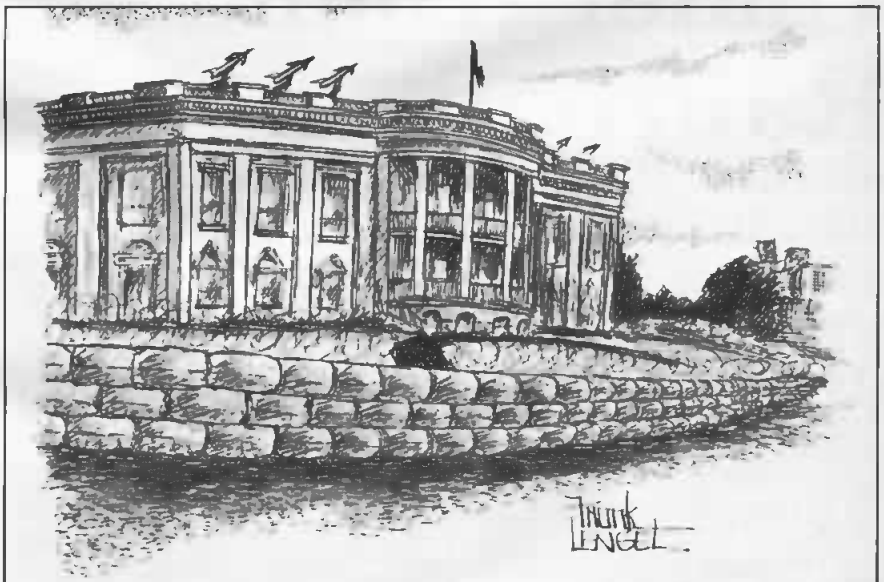
The State Dept.'s official response to the AFSC report states that "all AFSC-cited items were approved after reviews were complete and assurances given, and we have satisfied ourselves that these end uses were legitimate and presented no significant prospect for diversion to the military. In fact, the bulk of the $28.3 million trade was in data incryption devices for automatic bank teller."

The Commerce Dept. controls licensing of civilian products exported by U.S. companies. It was the Commerce Dept. which approved "by mistake," the export of shock batons to the South Africans.

"Obviously, sometimes mistakes are made in our imperfect world, but there is no government policy to aid South African reprehensible acts. We process 80,000 licenses a year, and there are accidents," said Dan Lander, a commerce specialist in licensing.

The AFSC methodically monitor arms trade journals, military journals and commercial press stories concerning arms sales. In addition, the Freedom of Information Act (FOI) documents obtained purportedly confirm the AFSC allegations. While a Commerce Dept. source claims the Quakers "are making a mountain out of grains of salt," the AFSC report points out that *all* weapons technology for *all* uses is outlawed by the United Nations.

—R.R.



"Of course, I'm not in any personal danger, Ed. I just thought the American people might decide to scratch welfare and other social programs in favor of a larger defense budget if they thought their President was in danger . . . And, with any luck at all, we could get a good old-fashioned war started before the elections . . ."

PHOTOS BY PETER KELLY

Border patrolman checks for refugees fleeing atrocities in their Central American homelands. Thousands never make it beyond this checkpoint.

The New Underground Railroad

American church sanctuaries are saving Salvadorans and Guatemalans from murder

By Michael P. Roth

Sacred sanctuary offered in church cellars to persecuted innocents during the Nazi holocaust saved thousands. Black slaves, transported north via the Underground Railroad, hid in the basements of churches. Draft evaders and deserters from the Vietnam War found refuge in similar ways. Now, in the 1980s, sanctuary is offered to refugees from the U.S.-backed military regimes of El Salvador and Guatemala.

One hundred churches, spanning all major denominations, participate in the sanctuary movement, from San Diego to New England, from urban Chicago to Wooster, Ohio. In two short years, hundreds of Central Americans, primarily Salvadorans, have found safety. Unprecedented numbers of people flee the repression, "creating one refugee every twenty minutes since 1979," according to Nobel Prize winning novelist Gabriél García Marquez.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) calls them "economic refugees," thereby denying them legal asylum, reserved mainly for political escapees, mostly from communist governments. The INS ignores 40,000 civilian murders by military-backed death squads. Wanton slaughter steamrolls over El Salvador and Guatemala on a scale comparable to Nazi Germany. The dozen cloistered Salvadorans I visited spoke of entire families mutilated, people dragged out of their homes in the middle of the night never to be seen again and a lake filled with corpses and pieces of bodies called "el lago de los muertos" (the lake of the dead). For these refugees, sanctuary is the only hope for survival.

Marcelo Peña, a former carpenter from San Miguel, El Salvador, told me he didn't know a single person who hasn't had a member of his or her family murdered by the military or the death squads. Peña's older brother's head was found stuck on the gate outside his house the day after he audaciously suggested to a neighbor that somebody ought to start a committee to obtain running water for their neighborhood.

According to the INS' own figures, more than 250,000 Salvadorans and Guatemalans have come to the U.S during the last three years, even though it is not easy to get here. Although a number of terror-stricken escapees are assisted by sympathetic church people in Mexico, Central American refugees are continually badgered to pay "mordidas" (bribes) to Mexican police and immigration agents to avoid arrest. Many leave El Salvador with nothing but the clothes on their backs and a few coins, fleeing without time to sell their possessions.

But life may become even more difficult if the refugees do reach the United States,

Immigration officials looking for refugees. Buses and cars are routinely searched at border.

after forking over their life to a "coyote," which is slang for border hustler. Most make their way to Los Angeles, home of what some call "the largest neighborhood of Central Americans in the world," living shadow-like, fearing arrest and subsequent deportation. The U.S. government pays to repress them, but refuses to shelter him.

"You don't know what it's like to walk the streets here," Peña told me, as we walked through downtown Los Angeles. "Every car looks like the 'Migra' (INS). Every man smells like an agent. Friends of mine disappear here almost like in El Salvador." In El Salvador, most professional people, especially engineers, teachers, doctors and nurses, psychologists and social and religious workers, are targets of the death squads, who fear all who may give strength and offer answers to the poor. But if the fleeing refugees do find work in the United States, it's usually as a janitor, car wash worker, domestic maid, or piece worker in a garment sweatshop. Exploitation runs as rampant as the cockroaches across the floors of the ramshackle apartment buildings in which most Salvadorans live in the United States.

Sanctuary was born in Tucson, Arizona. Presbyterian minister John Fife and retired cattle rancher Jim Corbett founded the humanitarian movement. They had no idea a "movement" would develop. Fife, 44, a tall, athletic-looking man who wears cowboy boots, traces the Tucson churches' awareness of the refugee problem to 1980 when 13 Salvadorans died in the desert east of his city after their "coyote" abandoned them. Church congregations cared for the survivors, providing food, hospitalization, counseling and social services. When the survivors were arrested after their release from the hospital, church members put together the bail money.

"Prior to that, I thought Salvadorans just came north for reasons typical to Mexicans," Fife said, "to escape the poverty. But I began to hear incredible stories about bodies in the streets, annihilation of unions, teachers, doctors, students, etc. What got church people really interested was the brutal repression against priests, catechists, pastors and nuns, particularly the death of Archbishop Romero."

Corbett's involvement began after he picked up a Salvadoran hitchhiker in the Arizona desert one day. When the Border Patrol stopped Corbett's car at a highway checkpoint north of Nogales, they arrested the Salvadoran. An INS official told Corbett he was only one of 50 Salvadorans detained that weekend.

The church groups formed a coalition with a legal aid organization called El Concilio Manzo, which provides legal aid for Central American refugees. They decided to prevent the deportation of Salvadorans captured, focusing on the Southwestern Regional Center in El Centro, California, where refugees were made to sweat in 115-degree summer heat.

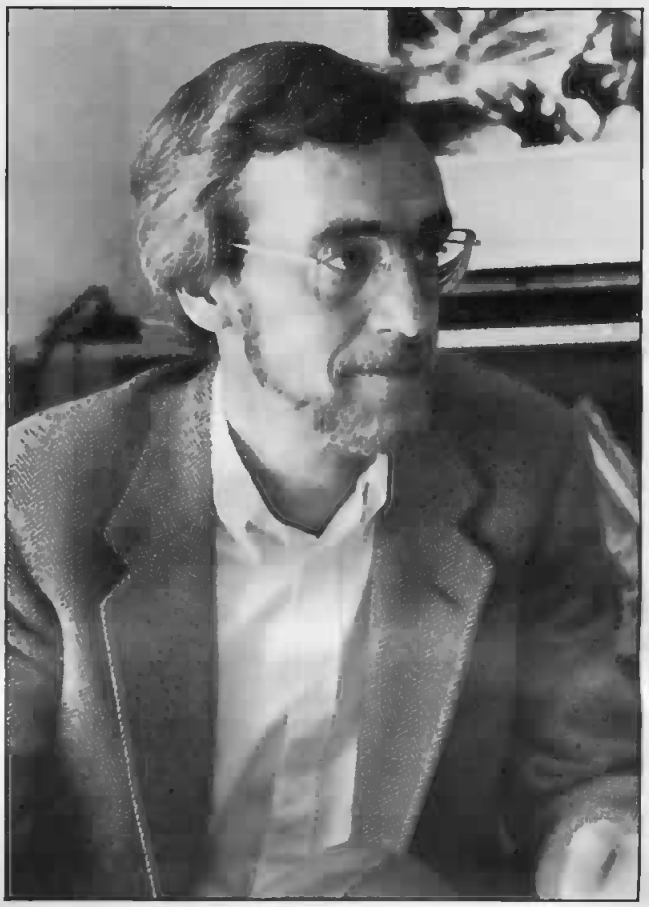
"Concilio went there every week, helping to file political asylum claims," Fife recalled. "We raised bond money. We did that for a year and a half, raising more than $600,000."

Corbett eventually realized the limitations of this work. Financial resources were stretched far beyond capacity while deportations continued unabated. Corbett began driving refugees over back roads across the Mexican border and giving them shelter in his home, and he also convinced others to do the same. He developed links with people in other cities willing to shelter Salvadorans. But it wasn't enough. There were too many refugees. One evening, Corbett, Fife and several other participants came up with the idea of publicly-announced sanctuary. Fife's Southside Presbyterian Church seemed the ideal place to begin.

"In January of 1982, the congregation voted to declare the church a public sanctuary," Fife said. "We decided to begin on March 24, 1982, the anniversary of Romero's assassination. We wrote letters to churches throughout the country and six joined us."

Rev. Fernando Santillana, whose Pico

Reverend Fernando Santillana offers sanctuary in his Los Angeles area church for refugees.



Rev. John Fife, Presbyterian minister in Tucson, Arizona, is underground railroad co-founder of the new

Rivera United Methodist Church has given sanctuary to dozens of refugees in Los Angeles, explained why the sanctuary was established. "We did a very good job hiding these people from the American public," Santillana said. "But we also hid the issue. The presence of these people educated us." Publicly-announced sanctuary gives the refugees a safe place to tell the true story about Central America.

I spent an afternoon with Guillermo, an Indian from the Guatemalan highlands. Guillermo, his wife and their five children sleep on the floor of Rev. Fife's small church. Guillermo had worked with the priests in his tiny village, teaching children to read and organizing road construction, sporting events, cooperatives, and the insallation of running water.

"A very corrupt regime was in power," Guillermo told me. "The mayor of my village wanted me to work for them, but I couldn't. I didn't want to be a corrupt politician. In retaliation, he announced I was an enemy of the government, because I wouldn't accept the post. I received a letter threatening to kill me and my family if I didn't leave. I left."

Guillermo travelled around southern Guatemala as a migrant worker. Graciela, his wife, was often visited by the army, demanding to know Guillermo's whereabouts. "I don't know," she would lie. "And I don't care. We separated. He's a lazy good-for-nothing who won't work and beats his children. Believe me, I'd denounce him to you if I knew where he was."

The ploy seemed to work, but Graciela was so sick with fear that she couldn't hold down food for three months. Soldiers beat Guillermo's uncle. Eventually, a priest gave Guillermo money to take his family out of the country. They worked 16 hours a day in Chiapas, southern Mexico. Accustomed to the cool climate of the highlands, the oppressive heat of the tropics was overwhelming. Through the Mexican "underground railroad," with help from Corbett and others, they made it north.

Guillermo is convinced the Guatemalan government is not only practicing genocide, but also "ethnocide."

"They are trying to abolish our culture. If they catch us speaking our language, we are arrested. If they catch us wearing our native dress, or praying in the traditions of our Mayan forefathers, we are killed. When our women bring food to us in the fields, the soldiers grab and rape them."

Across the desert to the west, the Ortiz family is harbored in a Sunday school class. In Rev. Santillana's East Los Angeles church, the Ortizes speak of their existence in urban San Salvador.

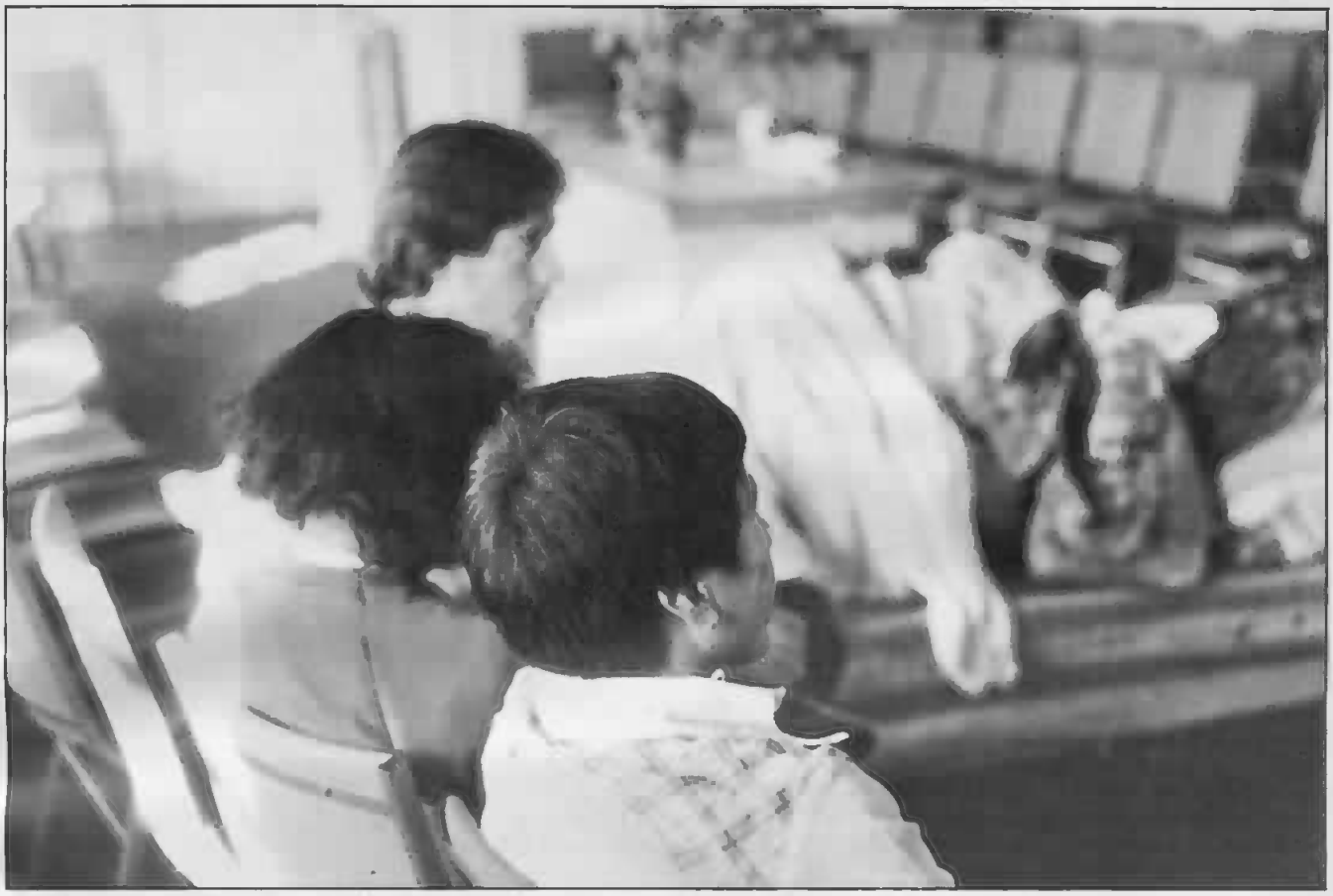
"I was a welder," Ricardo said. "I was constantly being taken off buses and thrown against walls. They would take my tools and accuse me of using them to make bombs for the guerrillas. I was frequently beaten. All my old friends and studying companions from the neighborhood are gone: murdered, disappeared."

Ricardo's trip from El Salvador to the United States was easier than most. He boarded a bus, carrying U.S. dollars, and made it through Guatemala without difficulty. But in Mexico City's bus station, he had to pay cops $50 to duck arrest. In northern Mexico, Ricardo was detained again until Mexican friends, claiming him as a relative, obtained his release. Ricardo arrived in Los Angeles with scant pocket money. Eventually his wife joined him through the same route.

Yet the city is arduous. "For a while I worked making lamps," Ricardo said. "But they closed the factory. I never got my last month's pay."

Francisco Castro is also staying at Rev. Santillana's church. One of the few Salvadorans admitted legally into the United States, Francisco had been arrested while working in the fields one day and accused of collaborating with guerrillas. After 19 months of imprisonment and torture, he was released as a result of pressure by Amnesty International. Francisco stays at the church which sponsors him. He helps with the landscaping and tries to adjust to a new country with a new language, and to life outside prison. Francisco's hands still shake from the torture.

"He is the only legal refugee in Southern California," Rev. Santillana told me. "I



A Guatemalan couple protected in Rev. Fife's Southside Presbyterian church fear for their lives if identified.

went to get his Social Security card and nobody believed he was here legally, even though he had papers stamped by the INS. They couldn't believe it, because you never hear of Salvadorans admitted legally."

Why is it so hard for Salvadorans to receive legal political asylum in the United States? Less than four percent of 15,000 political asylum applications were approved in the last two years. INS spokesman Joe Flanders refuses to accept that Salvadorans are political refugees, maintaining that they wait until they are arrested before applying for asylum, instead of making application as soon as they arrive in the United States.

"The administration is doing everything it can to stop Salvadorans from being considered refugees," Immigration Attorney Bruce Bowman said. "They don't want them to be witnesses. One of the most important things in conducting a war is to make sure the witnesses cannot testify against it. They won't allow hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans to be witnesses, to mingle freely in this country and talk about El Salvador."

Flanders explained the criteria to qualify as a political refugee. One must possess documents, such as a letter or newspaper article, to demonstrate why one is in danger. Only then, Flanders said, would the State Department investigate. The applicant is required to give information about his family and the organizations he belonged to.

The United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees said, however, that displaced people are the last ones expected to supply documents, and that U.S. treatment of Central American refugees is in blatant violation of international law as well as United Nations Protocol on Refugees.

The United States is even violating its own 1980 Refugee Act. A recent PBS documentary interviewed a Salvadoran man, a prominent opposition politician. He had received numerous death threats, and even had copies of the threatening letters to submit in his political asylum application. Yet he was rejected. Then they interviewed a Polish man fleeing communism. He was granted political asylum. The Pole said that all the U.S. government wanted from him was his word that he was persecuted.

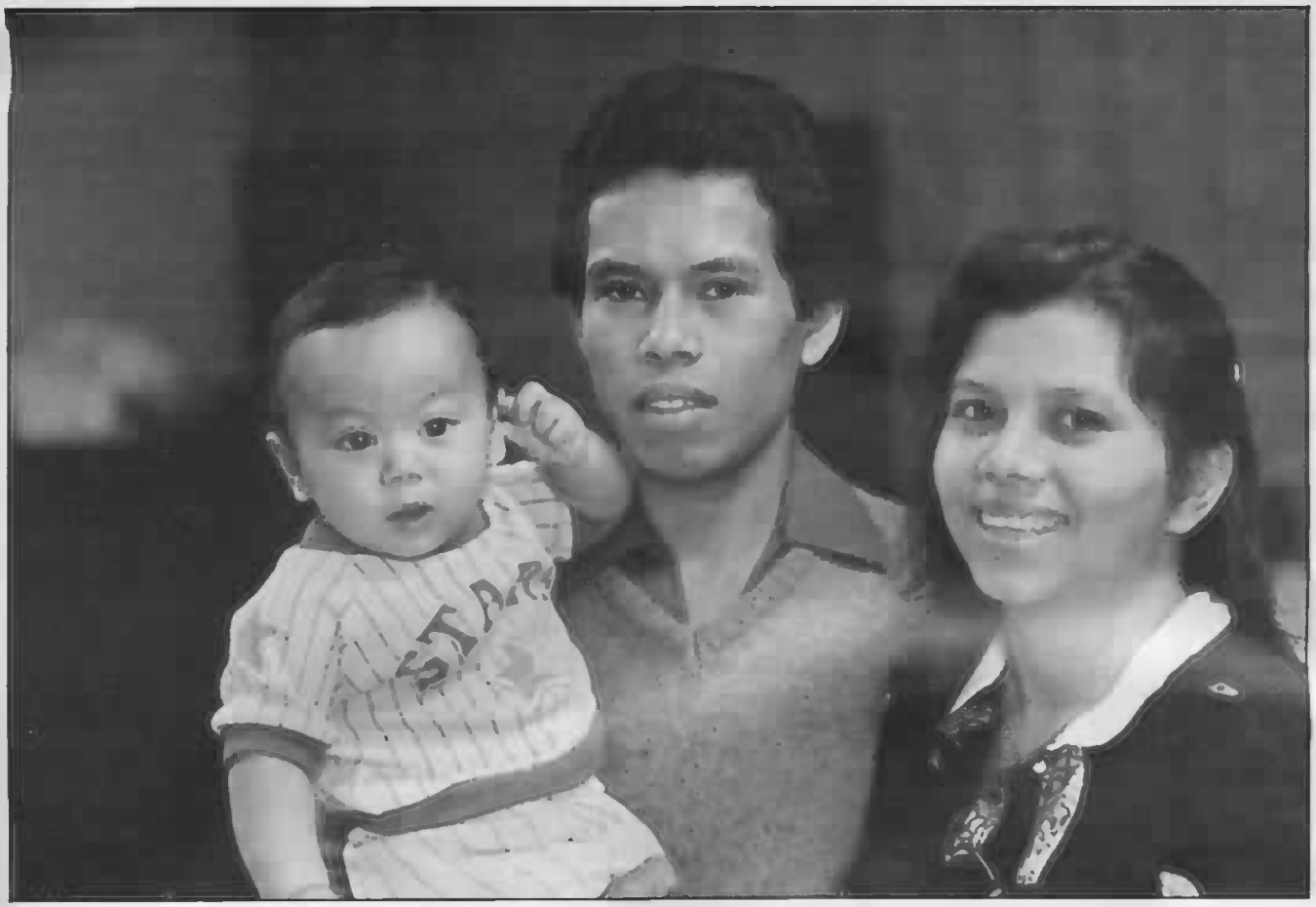
"Amnesty International's 1982 report lists one political death in Poland, a country of 40 million people," Bowman said. "And the guy was killed in a demonstration. Then you look at El Salvador, with four million, one-tenth of Poland's population, and even Garcia, the Minister of Defense in 1982, said at least 30,000 civilians were killed. Most of those were premeditated murders by the death squads."

To discourage Salvadorans from applying for political asylum, bond is routinely set higher than for other nationalities. Bowman defended a family of 16 people, spanning four generations, who turned themselves in, seeking asylum. Bail was set at $72,000.

"The U.S. government is cooperating with the Salvadoran government and these people know it," Jim Corbett told me in Tucson. "For example, a Salvadoran woman caught in South Texas had a book of Archbishop Romero's homilies. The U.S. decided she was a communist, and went so far as to declare her to be 'Comandante Norma,' a guerrilla leader. She wasn't, she was just a simple peasant woman. A few days after her arrest, her mother and other members of the family in El Salvador were picked up, tortured, and killed. So why should refugees turn themselves in to apply for political asylum?"

But the United States government doesn't represent all its people. The sanctuary movement has *saved* lives. Consider the celebrated case of the Zelada family. Ricardo Zelada was a strong opponent of the military regime of the early 1970s in El Salvador. In 1972, he was elected to the Salvadoran Congress, but a military coup prevented him from taking his seat. Many of the leaders of Zelada's political party were rounded up and killed. Zelada himself received death threats. After arrest and torture, he fled his native land. Later, his wife, Noemi, joined him.

The Zeladas established themselves in Los Angeles, working in garment fac-



The Ortiz family housed in Rev. Fernando Santillana's East Los Angeles' United Methodist church may spend several more months there.

Francisco Antonio Castro is another refugee provided sanctuary by Rev. Santillana's church

tories. Their daughter, Adelila, was born in 1976. Ricardo, rooted in his torn homeland, became active in solidarity organizations, informing Americans about El Salvador.

"In 1980, immigration agents knocked on our door," Zelada recalls. "They said they wanted to help us arrange our papers." Zelada got a lawyer. INS authorities told him they were investigating revolutionary activities from Central America. When Zelada appeared with his lawyer, the INS aksed nothing about his immigration status, or how he entered the country. They only asked about his political activities, which were not communist.

"They wanted to know if I was a member of the Communist Party in El Salvador," Zelada said. "They asked if I'd been to the Soviet Union, if I had met American party leaders. They didn't believe I was only doing solidarity work."

Zelada applied for political asylum. Four years later, his case is still pending. His wife was ordered to report for deportation. She appealed every six months until finally, in February of 1983, the INS informed her: "No more appeals!" They gave her a date to report for deportation. The Zeladas decided to go underground.

"At first we were afraid to go into a church," Zelada said. "The church in El Salvador, up until the time we left, was always on the side of the rich, the army,

Abe Valenzuela is a key driver in the new underground railroad operation delivering Central Americans to safety in churches. Kelly Putnam in Tucson offers her home to many refugee families (below)

Another refugee family at home in Kelly Putnam's kitchen. She has housed several families for months

the oligarchies. We had no confidence in churches. But when we saw the commitment of the people here, we realized this sanctuary movement is strong."

"The people watched over us in shifts. There was always somebody with us. They pledged to block the INS with their bodies if agents entered the church. Many slept in worse conditions than we did, sleeping on the floor sometimes. They brought us everything we needed. We lacked nothing. It wasn't only the economic help, mostly it was the moral support."

The Zeladas stayed in a dozen Southern California churches during the next seven months. Finally, much to their surprise, an immigration judge ruled they could reopen their case, based on the extreme hardship their U.S.-born daughter would suffer if her mother were deported.

"Adelila was very traumatized at the thought of her mother being deported," Ricardo told me. "We presented psychologists' reports about her mental state to the INS. If Noemi was deported, we all would have gone back." If it wasn't for sanctuary's quiet but sacred stance, the Zeladas might be dead now. Most of their remaining relatives in El Salvador have been killed or driven into exile.

One of the by-products of sanctuary is the new awareness of North Americans who come in contact with refugees. Rev. Fife spoke of a congregation in Minneapolis that went through profound changes when a young Salvadoran man was given sanctuary there.

"It was a suburban church," Fife said. "All the members work for big multi-national corporations. They were firm supporters of Reagan's policies before considering sanctuary. It was a real controversial decision for them. But a year later, I went up there and those folks were radicalized. They were solidly opposed to Reagan's foreign and immigration policies. That's happening in communities all across the country. This young man has had 500 speaking engagements just in the Minneapolis area. A lot of people heard his story."

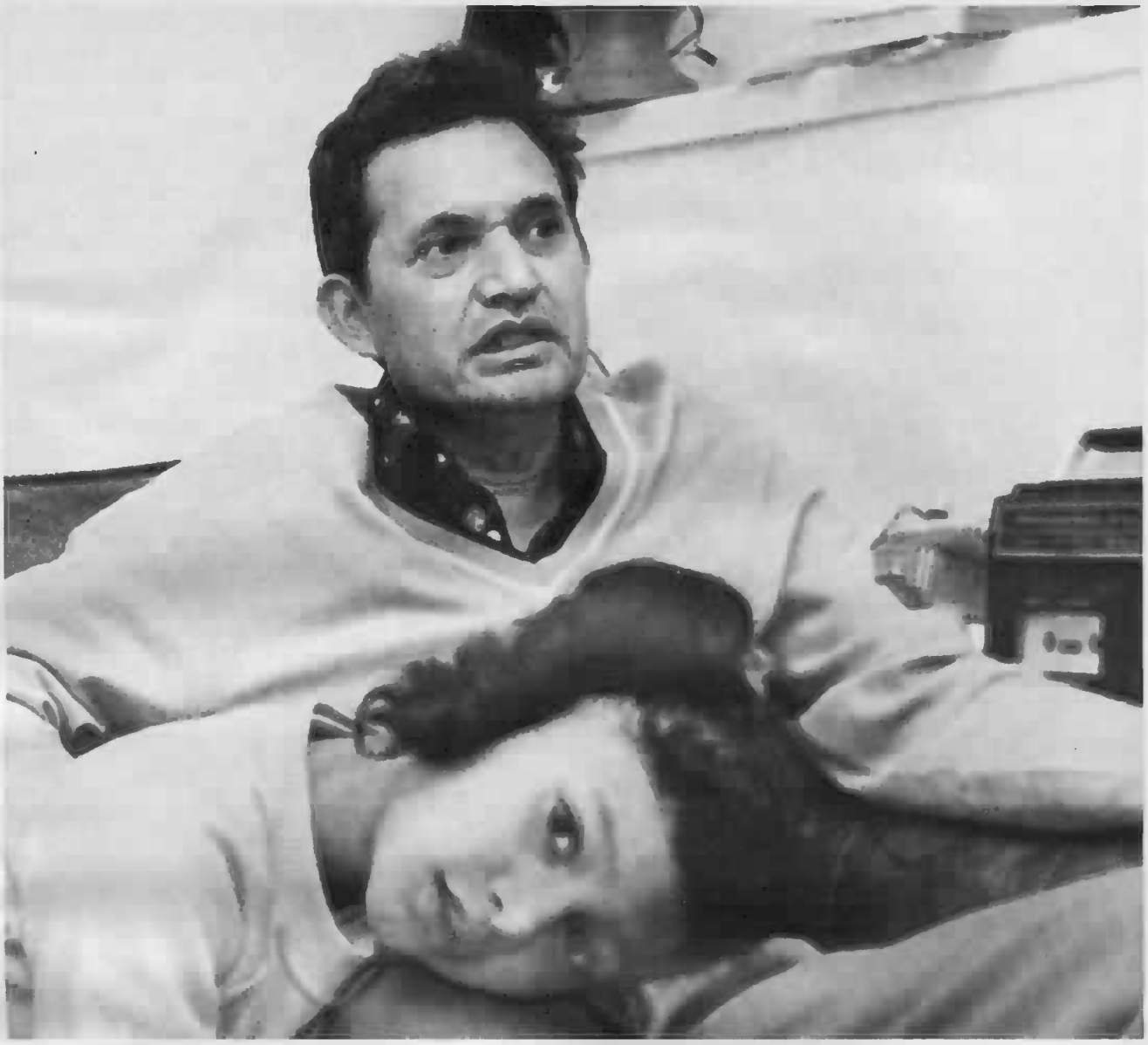
I went to see Kelly Putnam, Antonio Cadra and his two children. Antonio's family lived for six months in Kelly's Tucson home upon arriving from El Salvador, penniless.

Kelly looks like an ordinary middle-class housewife. Nevertheless, she works as a legal secretary. Two teenagers race out of the suburban home on their way to the movies. Three enthusiastic dogs nearly knock me down before being banished to the back yard. Antonio's kids rush into the den where a box full of puppies fall over each other. Their mother growls protectively.

"I didn't even know where Central America was before," Kelly chuckles over a glass of wine. "It could have been in the Midwest for all I knew. As a member of the Presbyterian church, I came to learn Antonio and his family desperately needed a home. So I challenged myself to live up to my Christian beliefs. This family became my family. My children learned to share with them. We have more in common than I would have imagined.

"Offering sanctuary has made me aware of how fortunate I am," Kelly reflects, "how easy my life is. I hear a lot more now. It is painful to see how crazy our government is. Before, I didn't know, or didn't want to know."

Nearly two dozen refugees have stayed in the Putnam home. Kelly calls them pilgrims, and more are coming.



Ricardo Zelada and daughter spent seven months in sanctuary in a dozen churches in Southern California

The INS is under instructions from the Justice Department not to prosecute the church people. Penalties for harboring "illegal aliens" go up to five years in prison plus a $2,000 fine for each "alien." The government feels such prosecutions would cause an uproar among the American people that would far outweigh the busting of a few refugees. But refugee deliverer Corbett feels that if Reagan is re-elected, "All the restraints will be thrown off and he'll begin prosecuting sanctuary people and attempt mass deportations of Central Americans."

Corbett, who has brought hundreds of refugees into the country from Mexico, considers it "remarkable" he's never been caught. Abe Valenzuela, one of the drivers who brings refugees in from Mexico, says he has to outsmart immigration officials on both sides of the border. He must be prepared to pay "mordidas" when officials approach his van.

Meanwhile, the sanctuary movement continues to grow rapidly. An average of two churches a week are volunteering themselves as sanctuaries. The "underground railroad" of today stretches from the way station in Tucson out across the country. "We can send a refugee anywhere," Fife said. Volunteers feed the refugees and pay for their own gas to drive them to the next relay point, so the costs are minimal.

Nevertheless, the situation for the majority of the refugees is as dangerous as ever. The Reagan Administration still refuses to grant political asylum in any numbers. It also denies Extended Voluntary Departure status to Salvadorans, a status which allows temporary asylum for a whole nationality, until such time as conditions are safe to return. Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights Elliott Abrams, said Salvadorans don't qualify because there are "safe zones" within El Salvador where people can go, although he wouldn't specify where those zones are.

Carolina Flores, a nurse from El Salvador, told me her husband was hacked into 30 pieces, packaged up, and dumped through the front window of their San Salvador home. Taped to the package was a note: "You're next!" During a short break from her 12-hour a day job at a garment sweatshop, she spoke of a recurring nightmare that sums up her fear.

"In the dream, I have a nice apartment in Los Angeles, and I'm legal," Carolina told me. "I even practice my nursing profession. I go out on a Sunday morning to take my baby to the park. When I look in the street, I see a squad of soldiers coming for me. Some nights the soldiers look like Salvadorans. Some nights they have blonde hair and blue eyes. I guess it's all the same thing really. I shiver so badly from this dream, I'm afraid to sleep." ■

Michael Roth is a Los Angeles freelance writer, specializing in Latin American affairs.

Profile

Sen. Howard Metzenbaum

The last man in Washington to stand up and be counted

by Bob Manning and J.J. Yore

He doesn't ride a white horse named Silver or disappear in a cloud of dust. You probably won't see him bursting across your TV screen—he's not even very well known outside of his home state of Ohio and the halls of Congress. In fact, you may have never heard of him. But if you're not rich and powerful, Howard Metzenbaum is a name you might want to remember.

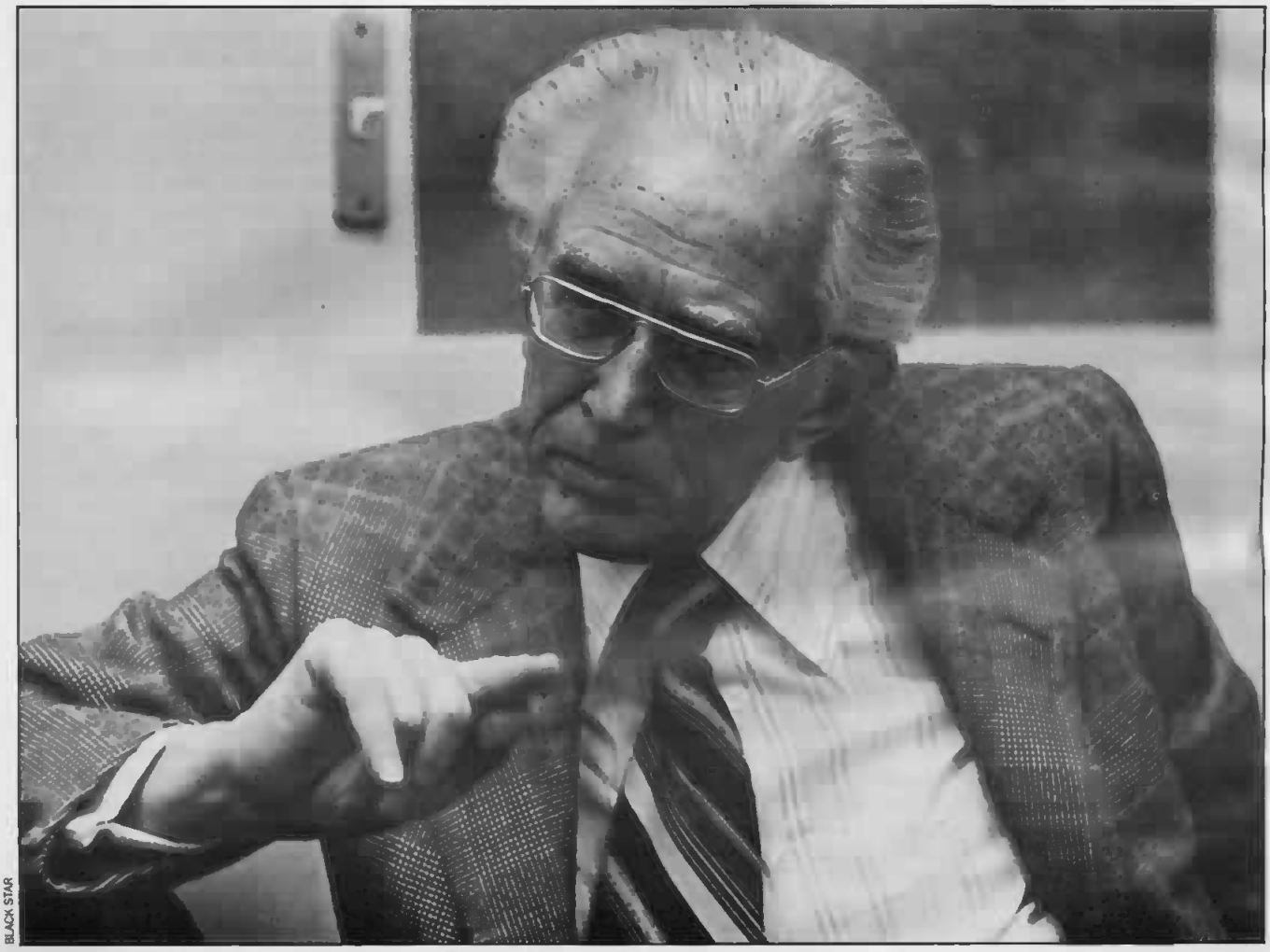
The junior senator from Ohio doesn't spend his time sopping up martinis lavished on congressmen by Washington's ubiquitous army of lobbyists or chasing high school pages. Metzenbaum is a relentless crusader for the rights of the little guy, a ruthless opponent of government waste, fraud and that virulent Washington disease that has grown to epidemic proportions—special interests.

He drives his Senate colleagues bananas, gives Big Corporate interests ulcers, and has drawn the disdain of the cynical press corps, which views him as a bit of an arrogant grandstander. "It may be arrogant to say I'm not going to let a bill pass," Metzenbaum retorts, "But I'm too old to go along for the ride. . . The Senate would be a better place if the leadership didn't let these special interest bills see the light of day." In typical Metzenbaum fashion, he drew up a "hit list" of bills he labeled "ripoffs, bailouts or sweetheart packages" during the last lame duck session of Congress in November, and waged a one-man crusade to block the legislation.

He has been, in short, a man wging war against Ronald Reagan and everything he stands for since the former actor took the oath of office on a cold January day more than three years ago.

When Reagan released his report of the Hunger Task Force after the flap about hunger in America last month, Metzenbaum was quick on the draw, calling the report "a candidate for the Pulitzer Prize in fiction." Metzenbaum snapped, "This administration, which first tried to tell us that ketchup was a vegetable, has forced a thousand schools to close their school lunch programs." He added, "The report callously ignores the facts about hunger in America; it's nothing more than an election year document to mislead the public."

But Reagan is only one of Metzenbaum's targets. Witness his blunt remarks on the floor of the Senate in the closing days of the last session: "What kind of Senate is this," he asked rhetorically. "Is this the Senate that knuckles down every time the president threatens a veto, or do we accept our responsibility to the people we represent? We can cut $1 billion off the Department of Defense like falling out of bed. We spend $100 million a year for military bands. No one ever talks about that.



BLACK STAR

Howard Metzenbaum is one of the few senators not influenced by special interest groups

We have more limousines for the military than we have for all the rest of the government combined. No one ever talks about that."

Howard Metzenbaum does. Metzenbaum disclosed a mind-boggling list of questionable overhead costs submitted by defense contractors to the Pentagon, including $1,500 for 10 tickets to the premiere of the movie *Superman*, $53,000 for a golf tournament, and $589 for cowboy hats. He then succeeded in pushing through an amendment adding $10 million to the budget of the Defense Contract Audit Agency so it could hire 400 additonal auditors to keep a closer watch on firms doing business with the Pentagon.

Metzenbaum, mid-way through his second term, is a relative newcomer to the powerful corridors of Capitol Hill. Nevertheless, he has quickly become a potent, if lonely force in Washington. A man not known for mincing his words, Metzenbaum has skillfully used his seats on key Senate committees to make his opinions felt. He's used his position on the Budget Committee to criticize Reagan's economic policies. From his seat on the Labor and Human Resources Committee, he's slammed Reagan's budget cuts, claiming in an interview that their effect on the nation's poor has made us "worse off today, probably than we were during the height of the Depression."

From the forum of the Senate floor, Metzenbaum has held fast against the efforts of many of his colleagues, using every parliamentary trick in the book to block legislation he dubs "special interest." In a few short years as U.S. senator, Howard Metzenbaum has made his way onto strategic committees, using parliamentary skills like a .357 Magnum, and wedged himself into a key position, forcing many fellow senators to bargain with him on a wide range of legislation if they hope to see their bills become law.

"Most politicians let average people get run over," says former Democratic Sen. James Abourezk, "Howard's not like that." Abourezk, now a Washington attorney, adds, "He's one of the few people in politics who is a genuine person."

The closing days of every congressional session are traditionally prime time for bills and amendments loaded down with special features designed to benefit powerful special interests. They are appropriately called "Christmas tree bills." Senators choose the season wisely. Their weary colleagues, anxious to leave for the holiday recess and faced with the usual year-end glut of bills, often routinely pass legislation that might otherwise never see daylight.

It is during such times that Metzenbaum's almost legendary mastery of parliamentary rules has been most effective. Metzenbaum's notoriety reached new heights during the closing days of the 96th

Metzenbaum uses many parliamentary procedure tactics pioneered by Rep. Jesse Helms (above)

Congress in 1982, when he stopped more than two dozen of these Christmas tree bills. His staff aides were put on permanent floor watch, armed with dozens of reserve amendments, waiting to pounce on the bills their senator had vowed to stop and tack them on. One of Metzenbaum's targets was a proposal to remove all state-regulated professionals, such as doctors and lawyers, from the Federal Trade Commission (FTC). The FTC investigates abuses such as price-fixing and false advertising, and the proposal would have ended its watchdog role which stands between private ambition and the public's vulnerability.

Some other Metzenbaum targets were a bill to exempt overseas shippers from antitrust restrictions, and an amendment to mineral leasing laws that would have let oil companies mine oil shale on federal lands without paying any royalty fees on the drilling. Still other targets were a bill that would exempt NFL owners from antitrust laws, and a bankruptcy bill that would allow banks, stores and other creditors to take the future earnings of bankrupt individuals.

No matter how overwhelming the odds, Metzenbaum has seldom caved in to peer pressure. For example, one of the targets on his 1982 hit list was a bill to exempt beer wholesalers from antitrust action. The bill had 278 sponsors in the House and 65 in the Senate—more than enough for passage in both.

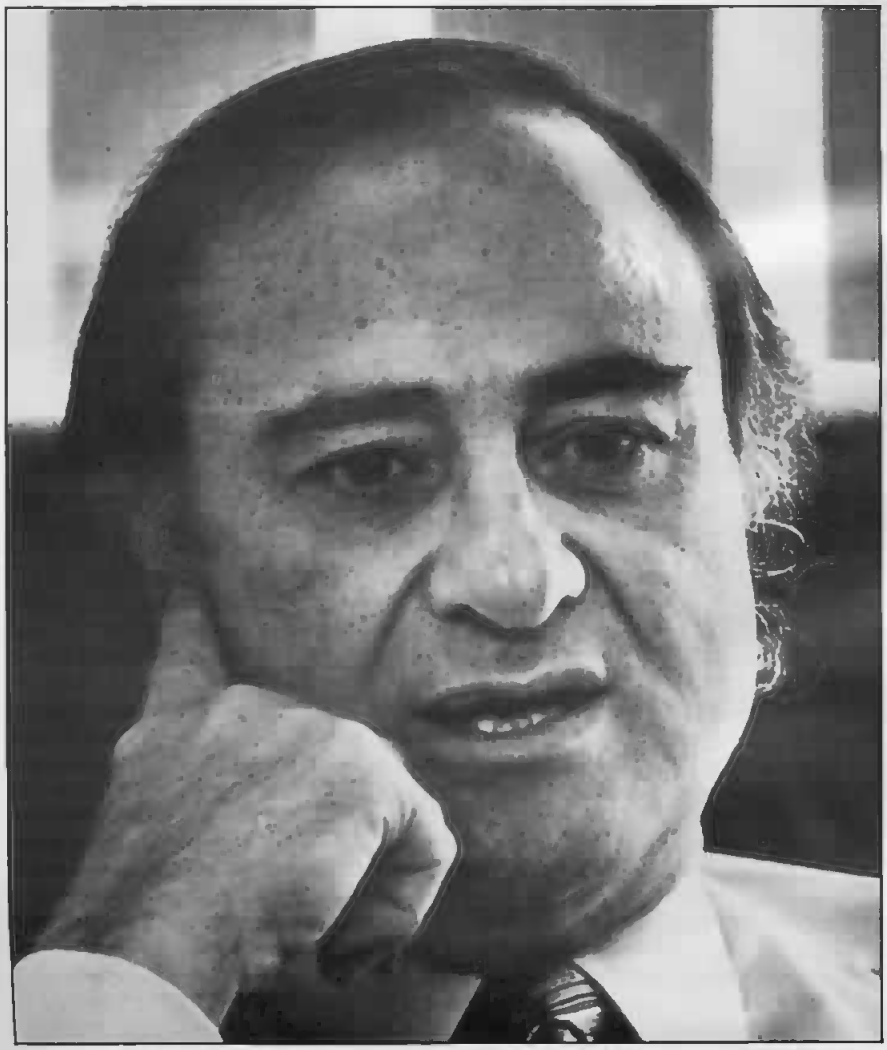
The secret of Metzenbaum's success has been his mastery of Senate rules, which he has played like a violin to block legislation he opposes. Metzenbaum succeeded so well in the years past that the need for dramatic action, like that in the final days of the 1982 session, has been greatly reduced. "He's a whiz at parliamentary stuff, so his threat alone is effective," says Herman Schwartz, an American University professor who worked as chief counsel for the Antitrust, Monopoly and Business Rights subcommittee in the late 1970s when Metzenbaum was its chairman. The Republicans abolished the subcommittee after

they took control of the Senate in 1980.

Metzenbaum's tactics are not new. They have been used over the years by critics of civil rights and social legislation, perhaps most notoriously by rightwing crusader Jesse Helms (R-North Carolina). But by combining a finely honed use of obscure rules and often flaunting informal Senate rules, Metzenbaum has raised what his critics call "obstructionism" to the level of an art form.

Procedurally, Metzenbaum's efforts include the use of a little-known unofficial maneuver based on courtesy rather than strict formal parliamentary procedure: the "hold." A hold signifies a legislator's intent to filibuster, and means that a bill's sponsors must indicate when they intend to bring it to the floor for action. At that point, those opposing the bill have a series of blocking methods available to them. They can object to a bill's consideration. Then, if the objection is sidetracked, they can filibuster. If the filibuster is broken, opponents can then add amendments endlessly. Perhaps most effective has been Metzenbaum's use of the Senate's unanimous consent rules which allow one member to bring the whole chamber to a halt. Metzenbaum has used all this ammunition in his parliamentary arsenal in his crusade against injustice.

So dogged is his pursuit of what he sees as the public good, that he has no qualms about occasionally violating a number of the Senate's gentlemanly informal rules. He has, for instance, not notified colleagues about his opposition to legislation before it reaches the floor of the Senate, and then caused delays once the bill hit the floor. Metzenbaum has no problem justifying the use of such tactics. "All of this last-minute business says there is something wrong when they try to pass a lot of legislation in the closing days that couldn't get through with full hearing," Metzenbaum told the *Washington Post* in 1982. "The filibuster can be used effectively to protect the interests of the country," he adds.



Former Sen. James Abourezk teamed up with Metzenbaum to stop the deregulation of natural gas by staging a two-week filibuster

The tax breaks, loopholes and technicalities used by well-heeled special interest groups to gain billions of dollars in benefits are, says Metzenbaum, "low-profile issues the American people don't know much about." He adds humbly, "I didn't seek this role."

In fact, Metzenbaum has gone so far as to argue that the very tactics that have insured his success should be abolished. He used the commentary page of the *Washington Post* as a public forum—right after his famous 1982 battles—to advocate reducing filibuster rights, stop the practice of adding on unrelated amendments to appropriation bills, and reform in the scheduling of bills to prevent the ritual end-of-year legislative onslaught.

Metzenbaum learned his way around the Senate quickly. Early in his first term he teamed up with James Abourezk, then senator for South Dakota, in an unsuccessful but spectacular 1977 filibuster against efforts to deregulate natural gas. He and Abourezk spent two weeks in an energetic battle against the legislation. When the debate finally ended, the two senators continued their efforts, tacking on 500 amendments to the deregulation bill and demanding one-by-one roll call votes, forcing a weary Senate into a 24-hour marathon session.

Metzenbaum's methods have not exactly endeared him to this colleagues, many of whom consider him an arrogant grandstander. So deep is the sometimes bitter enmity that one leading Republican senator publicly called him "a pain in the ass." Abourezk is one of Metzenbaum's few fans among the legislative crowd. "One of the gimmicks is to try to use peer pressure," explains Abourezk, adding that Metzenbaum is not swayed by such tactics. "Howard's not afraid of controversy." Abourezk concedes that Metzenbaum's techniques "have touched a lot of nerves." But Abourezk adds, "You just can't win with a love-in up there."

In one particularly bitter battle, Metzenbaum blocked a bill sponsored by Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) that would have given the federally-owned Alaska Railroad to the state for free. Metzenbaum, who once called Stevens "the Alaskan oil and gas senator" labeled the bill a "boondoggle" and refused to let it pass. Stevens became so irate that he threatened to go to Ohio and campaign against Metzenbaum. In a heated exchange, Metzenbaum retorted that he would be glad to buy Stevens a plane ticket!

The two men finally worked out a compromise: having the U.S. Railway Association decide the railroad's market value, which the federal government would then use to negotiate the railroad's selling price.

Metzenbaum's end-of-session goal-line stands have led some to dub him "Headline

AP WIDE WORLD

Sen. Metzenbaum questions a witness during a hearing of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee

Howard." Actually, the tough Ohioan has received some accolades. One unusually laudatory 1982 commentary in the *Washington Post* was headlined, "Thank God for Metzenbaum." But the financial press has been less kind. An article in *Business Week* carried the title "Metzenbaum is Proud to be a Pain," and *Fortune* called him "The Grinch Who Almost Stole Christmas."

Although Metzenbaum has been interested in consumer causes since he was a state legislator in the 1940s, his greatest single cause, the one that has overshadowed all others, has been an unrelenting campaign against Big Oil. Metzenbaum has been the Don Quixote tilting at the oil derricks of the large energy companies. He has been a determined, if not always successful foe of natural gas deregulation, which he complains is inflationary, drives up the rate of bankruptcies, and milks consumers by pouring billions into oil company coffers. He has prevented corporate raids on the Treasury to the tune of perhaps more than $20 billion. As a result of Metzenbaum filibustering, for example, an effort to grant independent oil producers a multi-billion dollar tax break by reducing their windfall profits taxes in 1981 was cut in half. The final version of the legislation cost the taxpayer $13 billion instead of the whopping $26 billion originally envisioned.

So persistent has Metzenbaum's opposition to the big energy companies been, that their lobbyists don't even try to influence him. Joe Lastelic, a spokesman for the American Petroleum Institute, a mainstay of the Big Oil lobby, groans, "You know you can't convince Metzenbaum on a good many of these things, so you don't waste your time."

One of the symbols of Metzenbaum's committment to the social values that go back to FDR's New Deal is his defense of Social Security. Unlike many of his colleagues, Metzenbaum says the system should not be tampered with. Cost of living increases should not be reduced, he argues, because it would push many elderly Americans below the poverty line. And he refuses to deal with Social Security as part of the budget deficit problem. "There are other ways to balance the budget," he says emphatically. Some suggestions? Rescinding some of the Reagan tax cuts and closing special interest tax loopholes. Budget deficits, claims Metzenbaum, are due to the recession, the massive increase in military spending, and revenue loss after the 1981 tax cut.

Metzenbaum has held the line on other Reaganite attacks on social programs. A Metzenbaum amendment to the 1981 tax bill doubled the child care tax credit for working families. Another Metzenbaum amendment, enacted in 1982, extended unemployment benefits for an additional 10 weeks to the jobless in hard-hit states. Last year, Metzenbaum introduced legislation to appropriate $600 million to help non-profit and government agencies feed

the poor and unemployed and house the homeless.

Agribusiness is yet another special interest that has not escaped Metzenbaum's hit list. In early 1982 Metzenbaum dug in his heels and threatened filibuster to block a bill providing hefty federal irrigation subsidies to big farmers unless major changes were made. The pro-agribusiness legislators gave in and rewrote the bill. The Ohio senator has also attacked Reagan's Payment-In-Kind (PIK) program, which offers already harvested crops that have been kept in storage to discourage greater production and keep prices up.

Metzenbaum, though often stereotyped an old-style liberal, rejects such labels and has not exempted Democrats from his broadsides. "I don't put it in liberal/conservative terms," Metzenbaum explained to an interviewer, "I put it in terms of people who are willing to make the fight. Quite a few of the issues I get involved in really are issues where dyed-in-the-wool conservatives should be on my side." Indeed, Metzenbaum teamed up with no less a dyed-in-the-wool conservative than Barry Goldwater to co-author a plan to improve Pentagon management and procurement practices which, if implemented, according to the General Accounting Office (GAO), the Congressional watchdog agency, could save taxpayers some $10 billion.

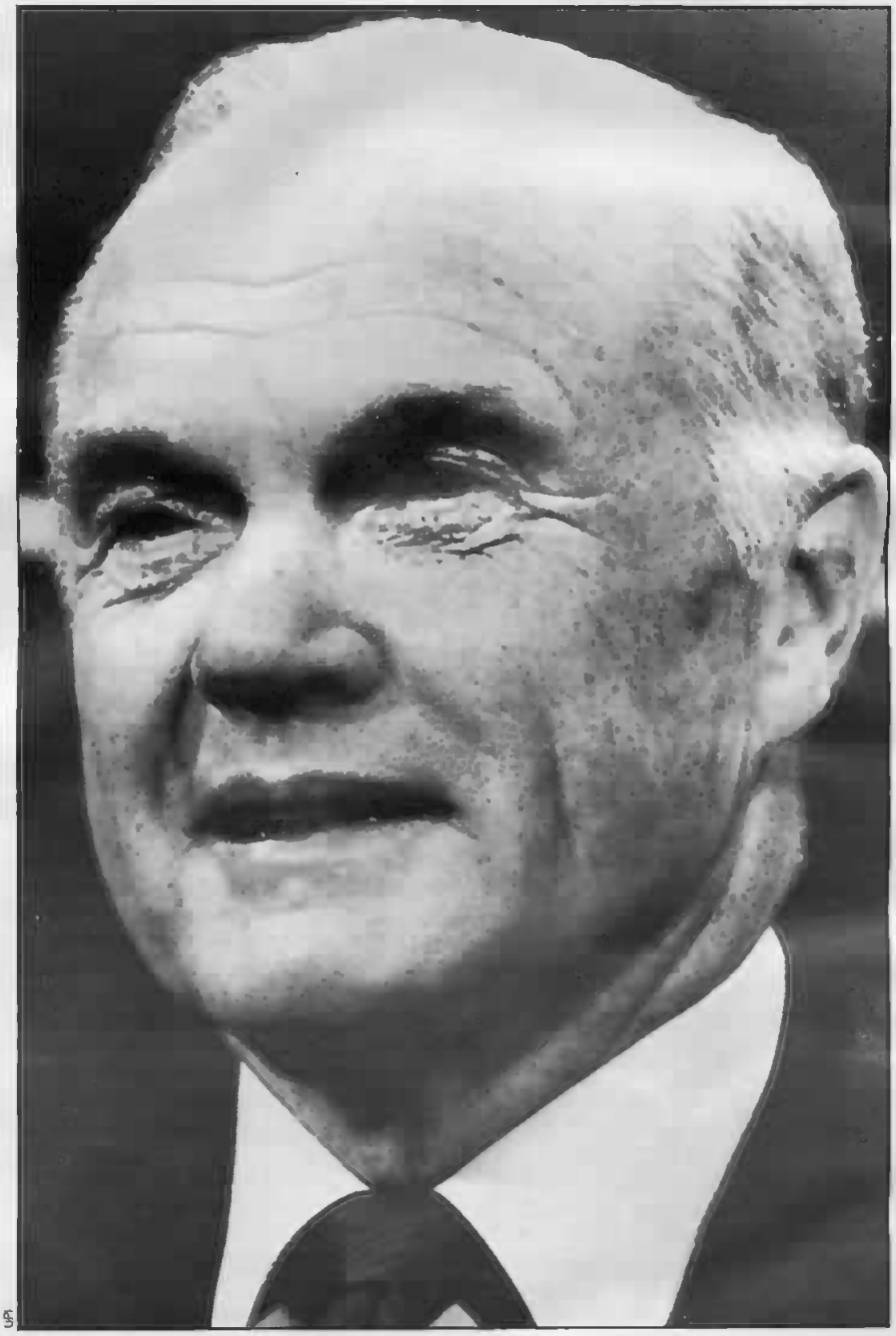
Metzenbaum has laid into the Democratic presidential candidates, to give teeth to his claim to put principles above party. "All the candidates," says Metzenbaum, "are, with the exception of the nuclear issue, pussyfooting around." He complains, "The Democrats are failing to take the issues to Reagan."

If all this sounds too good to be true, Metzenbaum too has his soft spot, his own special interest group that limits his principles. The records show that more than half his campaign contributions from PAC's came from organized labor. So it's not surprising that on issues relating to protectionism, which big labor encourages, Metzenbaum has sometimes put the interests of labor unions ahead of those of the consumer. For example, Metzenbaum has backed auto import restrictions and the so-called "domestic content" bill which would require foreign auto makers to use up to 90 percent U.S. parts if they sold more than 100,000 cars a year here. If passed, the legislation might save some 200,000 jobs in auto and other basic industries such as steel. But it would price popular Japanese imports out of the market, allowing U.S. multinationals such as Ford, Chrysler and GM to avoid competition.

Metzenbaum's press aide says that the senator supports free trade in principle, but the decline of the auto and steel industries due to imports and the potential loss of jobs caused him to make an exception on the domestic content issue. Nonetheless, it is hard to escape the old maxim, "He who pays the piper, calls the tune."

Not surprisingly, Metzenbaum's approval rating among liberal political organizations is at the top of the list. Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) gave him its only 100 percent liberal rating in 1983—Metzenbaum's second year in a row with a perfect score. This puts Metzenbaum well ahead of every Democratic senator running for senator. Among them, the ADA's highest rating went to Gary Hart, who at 80 was a full 20 points behind Metzenbaum.

Metzenbaum has often been attacked as an enemy of American business. But ironically, his own life story has been a rags-to-riches free enterprise success story of almost mythical proportions. After working his way through college and law school at Ohio State University selling magazines and Fuller brushes, Metzenbaum co-founded the Airport Parking Company of America and became a millionaire parking-lot magnate. He sold the firm to ITT in the mid-1960s, and then joined the huge conglomerate as Chairman of the Board for



John Glenn was once defeated by Metzenbaum in a 1970 primary for a Senate seat in Ohio

ITT Consumer Services. Aside from being a corporate lawyer, Metzenbaum also owns a small chain of suburban Cleveland newspapers.

Metzenbaum was a familiar figure in Ohio politics long before he showed up in Washington. His credentials as an iconoclastic maverick go back more than 40 years. In 1942, a year out of law school, Metzenbaum went against the Cuyahoga County Democratic Organization in his native Cleveland and won a seat in the Ohio state legislature. A few years later, he moved up from the house to the state senate.

Then, in 1951, Metzenbaum left politics to manage his parking lot company and practice law. He used his record as a labor lawyer to lay the political groundwork for his later bids for higher office. During these years, Metzenbaum also boosted his liberal credentials, becoming involved in a number of battles to integrate exclusive private clubs in and around Cleveland, and by serving as a board member and financial backer of Karamu, a black cultural organization in Cleveland. He supported both Kennedys when they ran for president as well as George McGovern in his unsuccessful presidential bid.

Metzenbaum made several failed attempts at gaining a seat in the U.S. Senate, defeating the man with "The Right Stuff," John Glenn, in the 1970 primary, then losing to a man with perhaps the most familiar name in Ohio, Robert Taft Jr. A fews years later, Metzenbaum made it to the Senate without winning an election, when Democratic Gov. John Gilligan appointed him to fill the senate seat vacated by Republican Willam Saxbe, who left to become Richard Nixon's attorney general. The following year, however, he lost to his old foe, John Glenn, in a bitterly contested race. To this day, the two Ohio Democrats have less than cordial relations.

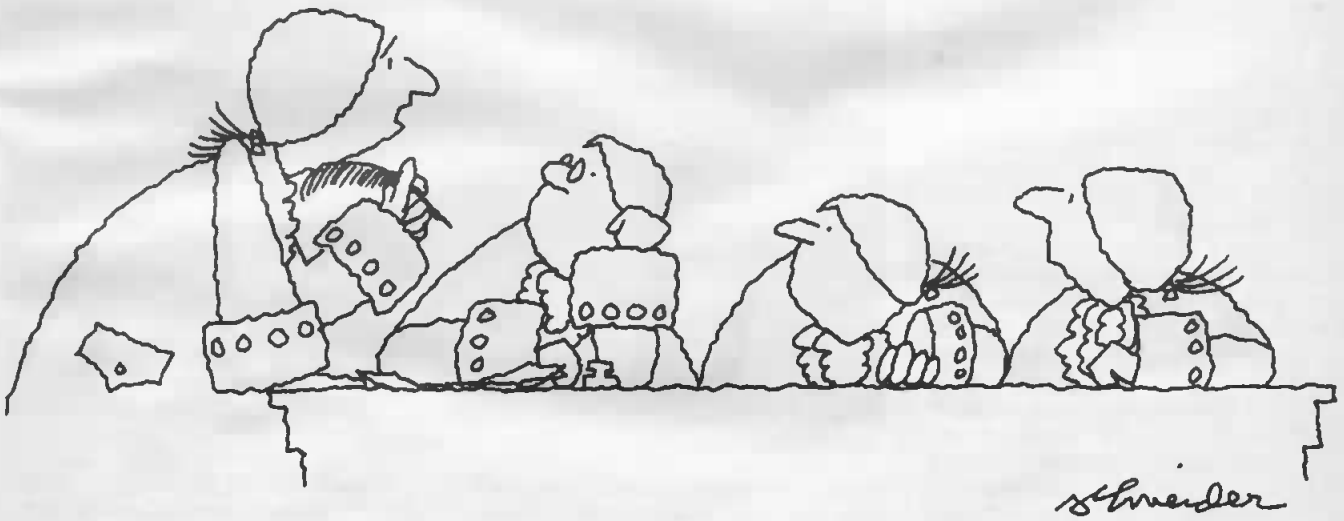
Not until 1976 did Metzenbaum return to Washington after beating Taft the second time around and beginning his first full term in the Senate. Metzenbaum won hands down in 1982. While not ruling out running for re-election in 1988, Metzenbaum says, "I'm here because of my own mind. I seek nothing further . . . I feel that I'm totally independent and totally determined to fight for what I believe in." ■

AP/WIDE WORLD

Metzenbaum announces his candidacy for re-election in this 1982 photo

Bob Manning is a writer in Washington, D.C. specializing in national and foreign political affairs.

T.T. Yore is a Washington, D.C. writer.



"Let's reserve the right to coin money to Congress. That way we won't have inflation."

The Vietnamese Mafia

Former South Vietnamese Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky is the leader of a crime ring that deals in drugs, robbery and murder

By Corky Johnson and Donald Goldberg

When the ownership of a nightclub in Tijuana, Mexico changed hands recently, intelligence officers on the San Diego Police Department began to worry. They knew this was no ordinary business transaction.

The Tijuana sellout was a Mafia takeover. But this wasn't the Cosa Nostra operating in Mexico. San Diego police have laid the Tijuana takeover to the "Association"—a new but ferocious organized crime family composed of Vietnamese refugees.

This bizarre story of oriental crime and killing Mafia-style is just now beginning to unravel.

Gaining control of a Tijuana nightclub is one of the latest moves by the Association in developing an international drug smuggling ring. Law enforcement agencies in several parts of the country, where Vietnamese refugees have congregated, are investigating the growing threat of Association "crime units." Police believe these Vietnamese refugees have spread their criminal tentacles from drug dealing into extortion, fraud, robbery and even murder.

Mysterious intrigue clouds the Association's activies, but organized crime reports obtained for this article show that the Viet Mafia is bent upon gaining profit and political power. While investigators point out that only a small percentage of the thousands of Vietnamese refugees are members of the Association, they believe it has the potential to be the most violent and dangerous Mafia in the U.S.

"There is a Vietnamese Mafia. It is well organized and established; robbery, extortion, fraud—it is an important area. Vietnamese crime is steady and the market is bullish," one police intelligence officer reported.

What makes this story even more incredible is the head of the Association himself. Fingered as the Association's leader by a joint California and Arizona organized crime unit task force report, and confirmed by other intelligence officials is Nguyen Cao Ky, former Vice President of South Vietnam and now a prominent California businessman. Ky has former high-ranking South Vietnamese government officials and Army generals at his command, the report states.

According to the task force, "This Mafia-type organization, or what is known in the Vietnamese circles as The Association, has key people placed in governmental jobs and in the business and religious communities. Ky also has many enforcement groups."

Shortly after research began on the Association story, Ky filed for bankruptcy, claiming he couldn't afford to pay off debts on a $27,000 annual income. The evidence suggests otherwise.

Although Ky filed for bankruptcy in December, claiming he owes a gambling debt of $20,000 to Caesars Palace in Las Vegas in addition to owing several other creditors, the task force report says Ky had a well-established network of business dealings that included contacts with Las Vegas organized crime kingpins.

Ky has refused to make any comment concerning his alleged leadership of the Association, but through a family member he said there was no truth to the accusations.

According to the task force report, Ky runs the Association as the de facto head of a displaced corrupt foreign government, transplanted to U.S. shores by American officials committed to support the fallen South Vietnamese regime.

Ky's expertise in drug dealing reportedly dates back to South Vietnam when he was a struggling young ruler. A damning 1971 U.S. intelligence report stamped "secret" states that Ky financed his 1971 presidential campaign by smuggling narcotics.

In 1971, an ex-CIA spook in a letter to a former congressman also charged that Ky was responsible for flying opium out of Laos. The letter said bluntly, "Ky took advantage of the situation (as an air force colonel) to fly opium from Laos to Saigon." Interestingly, the CIA was also reported to be involved in the Laos drug connection.

BONNAY BLACK STAR

Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky as he looked in 1965

Ironically, federal agencies have all but turned their heads away from the Viet Mafia problem although they are keenly aware of it, local crime fighters have complained. To admit such an extreme felonious violation of U.S. law by the Vietnamese would only add to our government's embarrassment and guilt over the Vietnam fiasco, they claim.

"It is our understanding that the FBI and CIA are very knowledgeable about

AP/WIDE WORLD

U.S. forces taught the Vietnamese jungle warfare, now they've turned into murderers for the "Association"

these organizations and are constantly monitoring their activities," one local intelligence officer wrote in a confidential report. The Association continues to grow in strength but the feds have not offered their local counterparts any help.

Astonishingly, there is even evidence to indicate that some U.S. officials are on Ky's payroll, but no names of officials have been listed on criminal documents obtained for this report.

"It should also be noted that Ky is closely associated with some American officials at various levels of federal, state and local governments. It is alleged that Ky makes payoffs to these officials through his various organizational leaders. One such leader is a general, an ex-Chief of Staff for (South Vietnam) President Thieu. The general lives in Washington, D.C. and allegedly handles payoffs to officials at that location," says the joint report.

The Association has begun to inflict a reign of terror upon the Vietnamese community. Honest refugees are forced to cooperate with the Association under fear for their lives.

"Penalty of death" has been an effective method of keeping the Association's business a well-guarded secret. The life expectancy of an Association informant is short, law officers have sadly learned.

"As in any tight-knit ethnic community, the people (potential witnesses) refuse to talk to law enforcement personnel because of fear, friendship, or the threat of some type of personal loss which could result from opposition to the Association," the crime report says.

Still, informants have outlined for police details of brutal slayings carried out gangland style by trained enforcement arms of the crime family. Other sketchy details of the Association's character have been slowly surfacing.

A tightly woven veil that shrouds the Association epitomizes Ky's craftiness. Operating almost exclusively inside the Vietnamese community, Ky has made it virtually impossible for police to track his moves with any consistency.

Relying on fear and an iron grip on the community, the Association has perfected shake-down extortion. Vietnamese business owners are approached and told to pay protection money—if they balk they are threatened. Most pay the money without question. Other Vietnamese are forced to pay dues as if the Association were a club.

Refusing a payment brings reprisal from the enforcers, who, as the report describes, "do not make idle threats."

The brother of a Vietnamese store owner in Salt Lake City, Utah was shot in the head and killed during a shoot-out with two Vietnamese police linked to the Association. Police believe the killing was part of an attempted extortion. The store owner, who survived a bullet wound in the back, says the men who burst into his shop demanding money were from California.

Fomented deep in the Vietnam jungles and swamps, trained death squads now stalk the streets of Houston, New Orleans, Los Angeles, San Diego and New York. With their roots submerged in a culture that accepts death as an ever-present shadow to life, these armed thugs wield terror for the Association.

While these "enforcers" have the natural talent and desire to conduct Mafia dirty-work, the U.S. has to take credit for shaping them into trained ambush killers. It was called "Vietnamization," a half-baked attempt to teach the South Vietnamese to defend themselves against their insurgent countrymen. The object: tactics in jungle warfare taught to teenagers who should have been trained as urban traffic cops, not murderers in the night.

Green Berets, Army special forces units and the crack Navy outfit the "Seals" were all involved in instructing the Vietnamese recruits. These U.S. forces were highly specialized in demolition and death. Passing on these techniques has aided the Association's campaign of dominance in

the U.S.

One such learning exercise was the CIA's Project Phoenix. During Project Phoenix, Vietnamese soldiers, with the CIA's help, became the masters in the art of intimidation under the guise of preventing jungle villagers from turning into communist collaborators.

In the United States these ex-Vietnamese Marines, now enforcing the laws of the Association, have adopted the colorful names from their Saigon days. Some are called the Frog Men, others the Saigon Cowboys. Another enforcement group based in Los Angeles calls itself the Pink Knights. Although their name suggests that they are boosters for debutante socialites, the "Pink" in this mobster group stands for blood.

Los Angeles police stumbled onto the work of the Frog Men when they began investigating a Mafia-style hit four years ago. From information provided by investigators in other parts of the country, LAPD's Asian Task Force identified the scope of the Frog Men's lust for power.

"These particular groups keep the Vietnamese community in fear. Reports document that these groups, primarily the Frog Men, were responsible for assault and murder."

One such murder depicts the nature of the crime.

A Houston Vietnamese jewelry store owner was blown away by a shotgun blast when he returned home one night and found a group of armed bandits holding his family hostage. The man was killed as he tried to escape. Again, the crime has been linked to an Association shake-down; or, as one Houston detective said, it was "for revenge, a show of power."

Gang shootouts have taken place in Hawaii, Texas and in Ky's own backyard in Garden Grove, California. Association killers are skillful assassins, aiming for the heart or the head. Their arsenal of weapons ranges from machine guns to .45 caliber pistols.

After a recent robbery in Garden Grove in which the Association brandished sophisticated automatic weapons, an informant told police the gang was ready to do battle with the cops themselves if they tried to interfere in its business. The enforcement squads are clearly becoming more brazen, police said. "They have no qualms about shooting anybody.

"Other incidents involving the Frog Men occurred in Anaheim where a businessman who would not pay the demanded protection money was assaulted," the task force said. "The victim did not wish to cooperate with the police because of fear for his life and the lives of his family."

Another Anaheim refugee was beaten senseless by eight enforcers in a Vietnamese restaurant for skipping out on a gambling debt. Gambling is a high money-maker for the Association and carries little risk. "Floating" games, with large sums of money, can be moved around the city, almost undetectable by police. Failure to pay gambling debts is dealt with harshly by the enforcers, but they make sure the "pigeon" is left alive to pay the price later.

Loansharking is also big business. Exorbitant interest rates of more than 40 percent are charged. Enforcers also take care of any free-loaders who forget interest payments.

The Vietnamese enforcers have gotten so good at their work they now reportedly have offered their services for hire. In New York Chinese gangs have recruited the enforcers to carry out their dirty work because of their cold-blooded efficiency.

The enforcers are believed to be headed by former South Vietnamese generals. Enforcement groups also double as standing armies, creating the impression they are prepared and waiting triumphantly to take back Vietnam from the communists. Recently Ky attended a public meeting of the Frog Men to dramatize the group's harmlessness, blaming kids trying to gain status for stealing the name and publicizing it as an outfit of hoods.

Local officials realize they are no match for the Ky organization—an organization they say has powerful international allies. Association bank accounts and contacts have been traced to Europe and Asia.

Because of its international connection, the takeover of the Tijuana club by the Association came as little surprise to the California police. The Association needed a safe haven just across the border, out of the grasp of U.S. lawmen. From Tijuana the Association can funnel drugs received through its Asian network into several U.S. communities. Drugs are imported to Tijuana by former Vietnamese officials living in the "Golden Triangle"—Thailand, Hong Kong and Malaysia.

Police hypothesize that the takeover in Tijuana was part of the international operation. The previous owners of the club were Filipinos; Ky is reported to have close ties to Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos. Part of this connection between Ky and Marcos is said to be an army training camp run by the Association on the Philippine Islands.

"Ky's organization, which is national and international in scope, is involved in extortion, drugs, loansharking, gambling, prostitution, smuggling, welfare fraud, assault and murder," the task force report

Vietnamese Mafia extortion

Groups reportedly linked to the Association say they are on a mission. Several former South Vietnamese generals living in different sections of the U.S. continue to direct large numbers of refugees preparing to retake their homeland, an organized crime report says. One of these generals who commanded the first ARVN Division lives in New Orleans. "This is significant because approximately 10,000 Vietnamese live and work in New Orleans," the report said.

Chaired by Ky, meetings are held every year in various cities with the stated intent of formulating plans for this invasion.

Strangely, Ky has also indicated he has won support for such a move from the People's Republic of China. Ky and the Association are reported to have hidden funds stashed in banks in China.

The rumors of standing Vietnamese armies training to retake the homeland abound within the Vietnamese communities. Whether true or not, many of the older refugees, those who spent most of their lives in Vietnam and feel a deep attachment to their native country, contribute gladly.

Then there are the camps where "freedom fighters" are supposedly trained. California officials point to an avocado grove outside San Diego, allegedly purchased several years ago by Ky. Other sources link the Vietnamese with an anti-Castro Cuban organization known as "Alpha 66." The liaison between the groups is said to be a former full police colonel who headed the National Police Academy in Tuduc, South Vietnam. Ties between the anti-communist Cubans and Vietnamese include an exchange of weapons in return for modern jungle warfare training, possibly at the avocado grove.

Still other sources tell of Ky's close friendship with Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos, another staunchly anti-communist despot. Marcos is said to have donated an island for the training of Vietnamese freedom fighters, possibly Hmong tribesmen from the highlands of Laos and Vietnam. Still the rumors are difficult to verify.

Many of those officials interviewed just don't buy the ploy of extorting money for liberating the country. Some of the foremost police experts believe the rumors of standing armies are merely the trappings of an elaborate hoax to gain money, the simple enticement for the Vietnamese to give for a cause they've long ago abandoned.

Meanwhile, whether for politics or mere extortion, the brutality of the "collection process" is undiminished. And the mayhem and death are no less significant to the victims even though they may be committed in the name of liberation of the homeland.—**C.J. and D.G.**

Former President Nguyen Van Thieu left South Vietnam with 36 tons of gold and insiders speculate that he is the Association's "godfather"

warns. "Several countries involved are Malaysia, England, France, Switzerland, Hong Kong, Canada, Thailand and Taiwan."

The major international centers in the U.S. are Orange County, California, which has the largest Vietnamese settlement; Houston, New Orleans and Washington, D.C.

To fully understand the Association's motives and its methods of operation it is necessary to go back to the end of the Vietnam war as Saigon crumbled around the feet of the South Vietnamese government.

When the United States airlifted the South Vietnamese refugees from the clutches of communist invaders it brought that country's best educated, wealthiest and most powerful to this country. In statements after his arrival in the U.S., Ky said the case of the Vietnamese refugee was a sad one. Refugees arrived in this country with a "big zero," Ky said.

But according to the task force report these refugees brought with them more than their bare possessions. The airlift refugees also smuggled out of their burning country trunkload after trunkload of gold to the U.S. and a fierce desire to parlay those riches into the "American" dream—sometimes at the point of a gun.

Federal officials at the Vietnam refugee receiving center at Camp Pendleton, California allowed local bank officials to set up a quick-stop banking service where according to one intelligence source, "as much as $300,000 a day was processed in gold transactions. This amount is probably trivial compared to some of the Vietnamese refugees who brought, literally, suitcases full of gold teals."

One witness to the Camp Pendleton scene recalls seeing trunks, not just suitcases, of valuables carried into the United States. The gold was allowed into the U.S. in an attempt to appease the leaders of South Vietnam, including Ky and President Nguyen Van Thieu, the task force report said.

"Information is that President Thieu left South Vietnam with approximately 36 tons of gold. The gold was flown to Thailand by U.S. military aircraft; then part of the gold went to Switzerland into a Swiss bank account." Thieu followed a route similar to his gold, eventually traveling from Paris to London, where he settled.

Although he keeps an even lower profile than Ky, the report speculates that Thieu is the real Association "godfather," running the international affairs and instructing Ky on the U.S. operation during Ky's frequent visits to London. Thieu also uses a cousin as a go-between with Ky. The cousin reportedly flies from London to Los Angeles to meet with Ky on a monthly basis.

Sources have given conflicting reports on how much loot Ky was able to smuggle out. Amounts range from $10 to $600 million in gold, diamonds and currency. But

Ky's Orange County liquor store is only one in his chain of liquor stores

whatever the amount, they agree Ky was well-financed when he moved to Huntington Beach, California, where he set up shop with a chain of liquor stores.

Government officials did not require the refugees to supply any information on the amount of gold they brought with them from South Vietnam. This haphazard bookkeeping by U.S. officials was the catalyst that gave the Association a foothold in the United States.

To compensate the thousands of migrating refugees for the loss of their country, the U.S. government established massive aid and subsidy programs. At the heart of the federal funding was the Indonesia Refugee Aid Program (IRAP). Millions of dollars were doled out through the IRAP alone, and refugees also received full social security benefits, medical aid and ironically, cash.

But the Association leaders quickly realized that the farcical recordkeeping by the U.S. made these welfare hand-outs an easy mark. The Vietnamese Mafia heads instructed their "bagmen" to milk these programs by preying upon the ineptness of the system. Welfare fraud became the first rampant "big business" among the new Americans.

"It is a proven fact the Vietnamese took advantage of (entitlement) programs . . . and accompanying this came corruption, fear and death."

Officials found in many cases that the Vietnamese would falsify welfare records by changing names, reversing first and last names and using relatives' names. Legal documents, including drivers' licenses, deeds and insurance policies, would all contain different names for the same person, investigators said.

"At times it has been extremely difficult for law enforcement agencies who were conducting investigations involving the Vietnamese to prove that the person under investigation is the same person as listed in a public document," the report said.

Monopolizing his control over the welfare fraud schemes has been no problem for Ky. Through his influence with the U.S. government, Ky was able to place members of the Association in key positions inside the welfare programs assisting the Vietnamese.

The Association's top man within the IRAP was the former South Vietnamese Minister of Health. Under the minister was a network of refugees working for the IRAP whose job for the Association was to show other Vietnamese how to cheat the welfare system. Of course Ky and the Association would eventually get their cuts.

Using an ingenious laundering system, the Vietnamese could "double-dip," receiving both welfare checks and money from the sale of unreported gold to make their purchases. Here is how the rip-off worked:

A welfare recipient would take the unreported gold and diamonds into a Vietnamese grocery store where they would be exchanged for cash. The cash would then be turned over to a family member who was not on welfare. Cars, property and other items were then bought by the family member and ownership surreptitiously turned over to the welfare cheat.

In San Diego, authorities for the California Department of Justice are investigating a typical Association welfare fraud operation that includes narcotics and gold smuggling in addition to embezzlement from another government fund, the United Refugee Asian Program. Illegal import-export businesses operating out of houses acted as fronts for these activities.

Officials traced hidden assets, property, unreported bank accounts and cars as part of this operation. Wealthy Vietnamese families belonging to the Association were

Dang Guyet Hui is the wife of Ky and a former stewardess. Here she works in an alleged "front" business, a Norwalk, Ca, liquor store

receiving continuous public charity, with relatives acting as fronts for illegal gain.

Food stamp fraud is also prevalent. In Louisiana, a food stamp fraud scam run by the Association was recently broken up. Vietnamese were cashing their food stamps in grocery stores connected to the Association for between 40 and 50 cents on the dollar. The stamps were then redeemed by the Association for their full market value.

"The majority of welfare given to the Vietnamese who have entered the United States is fraudulent," the task force report concluded. It estimated the number of refugees committing welfare fraud was between 60 and 70 percent.

Insurance fraud is the newest Association target. Private insurance company investigators have discovered an increasing rate of falsified health and damage claims traced to the Vietnamese in California. State health departments are reportedly working with insurance companies to crack down on the problem.

Despite the bankruptcy claim, Ky is alleged to have considerable financial holdings, the report says.

"Ky also has many 'shell' corporations in which he launders money," the report states. "Dallas and Lubbock, Texas are becoming political and financial centers for the Vietnamese. Information received indicates that large sums of money are going from California to Texas. The money is coming from Ky, who is attempting to obtain as much power as possible."

Iowa, Alaska and New Orleans are listed as being other financial centers with major deals.

By using other people and names to buy business "fronts," Ky has developed an extensive personal empire, the report alleges. Specifically, unconfirmed intelligence information shows Ky has financed 16 liquor stores, six houses, an avocado grove and six fishing boats. Other businesses are reported located in Texas.

The report also maintains that Ky has connections to a Vietnamese madam who manages prostitutes, or "taxi girls," and owns massage parlors. "It is possible that these contacts result in the funding of front money for narcotics operations," the report says.

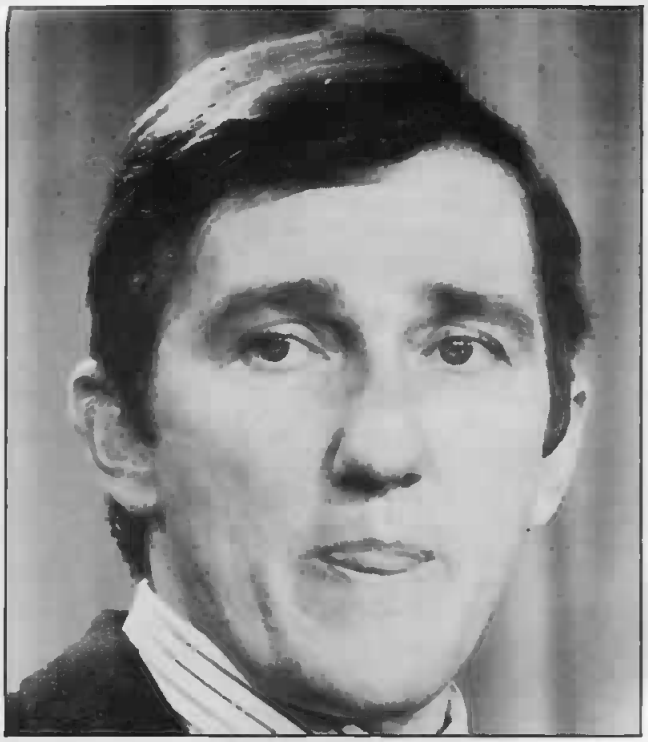
Part of this business enterprise involves collections from businesses around the country. "Money collected for Ky from the various Vietnamese communities goes to a central distribution center. Two couriers supposedly fly throughout the country to the major Vietnamese centers with the money to keep the operation going. Simultaneously, money collected in other states is picked up by couriers and returned to Ky."

While the future looks bright for the Association, it looks equally dismal for the police agencies charged with combating its proliferation. Local lawmen told the feds about the problem at a recent conference in New York, but no interest was expressed in an investigation on a national level.

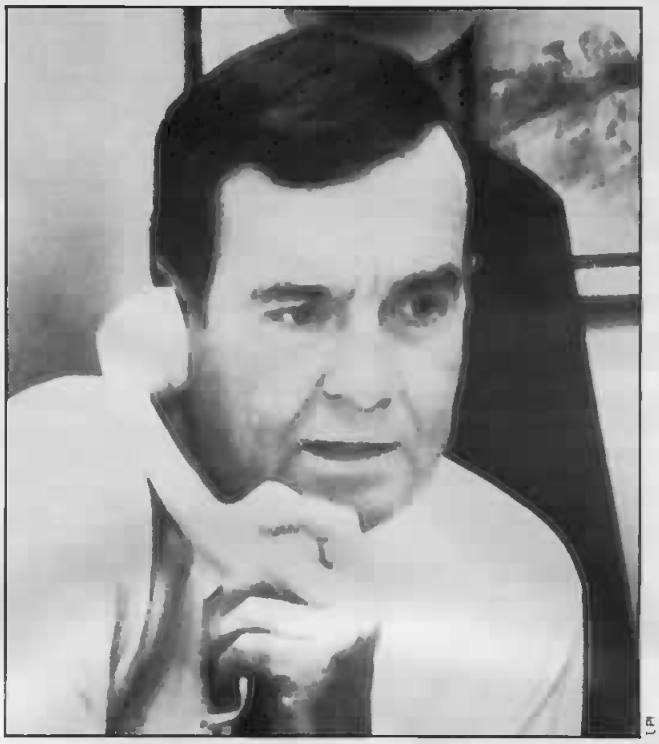
A Houston police detective has applied for Justice Department funds to study the Mafia situation; meanwhile, the Vietnamese community remains a "powder keg," says one East Coast investigator.

It might already be too late to put a clamp on the Association, the task force surmises: "The Association may become too powerful to deal with if some action is not taken at this time." ■

Corky Johnson and Donald Goldberg are associates for Washington columnist Jack Anderson. They have been researching the Vietnamese Mafia story for several months.



Navy Secretary John F. Lehman wouldn't sell his interest in a consulting firm with Defense Department contracts



Interior Secretary William Clark hired an assistant who used inside information to make huge profits on the stock exchange

Public Service Is Private Business

Ronald Reagan has appointed conservative businessmen to office who complain about free lunches for the poor while they fly around the world on a $5 billion annual tab

By Mark Green

Warren Harding suffered Teapot Dome. Harry Truman was blamed for the "Five Percenters" and "Deep Freezers"—business lobbyists who seemed to get special access to high officials after spreading around valuable gifts. And Ike forced top presidential aide Sherman Adams out of office, sadder but warmer in Bernard Goldfine's vicuna coat.

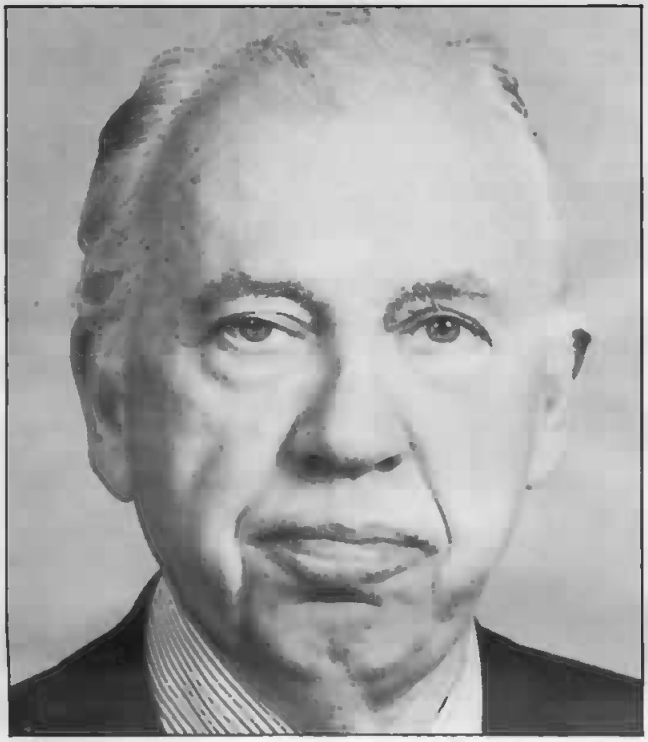
All administrations periodically produce appointees who are more interested in managing their assets than their agencies, or who cut ethical corners for self-gain. In the Reagan Administration, however, such ethical problems are not periodic, they are customary—as last month's headlines about Charles Wick, Paul Thayer and Rita Lavelle indicate. The conservative businessmen who came directly from the private sector to staff Reagan's public sector have brought with them their commercial bottom-line orientation. As a result, there is a swelling volume of individual improprieties that adds up to the larger issue of Reaganethics: the abuse of public trust for personal financial gain.

• *The Ties That Blind.* In accord with the biblical injuction that no person can serve two masters, financial conflicts-of-interest are forbidden by federal law. Indeed, it was sentiment against such conflicts that led the First Congress in 1789 to prohibit the Secretary of the Treasury from investing in government securities. But defining such ethical lapses today has proved difficult for White House lawyer Fred Fielding, who blesses such arrangements about as often as he is called upon to investigate them, which is quite often.

For example, Norman Ture, when Treasury Undersecretary, negotiated a Treasury contract for a company in which he held an ownership interest. It seems that Ture had asked the accounting firm of Coopers & Lybrand to submit a bid to help perfect an econometric model; the firm then won a $223,000 Treasury contract without any competitive bidding. This was at the "same time Coopers was paying Ture $60,000 for his interest in an econometric computer model he had developed," noted *The Wall Street Journal.*

Reagan's Deputy Secretary of Commerce, Guy Fiske, recommended that the government sell a $1.6 billion weather satellite system to COMSAT for only $300 million *while* he was talking to COMSAT about a job there. The Commerce Department's general counsel, after an investigation, said Fiske "created the appearance of using public office for private gain, of giving preferential treatment to the corporation (COMSAT) and losing impartiality." He then resigned and is now the subject of a grand jury investigation. Also at Commerce is D. Bruce Merrifield, the current Assistant Secretary and a former executive of the Industrial Research Institute of New York, which represents 276 chemical, electronics and machinery firms. He helped arrange a $970,000 Commerce contract for his old trade group even though it ranked near the bottom of eleven competitors.

The Pentagon is especially rife with private-public backscratching. The *New York Times* reported that George Sawyer, when Reagan's Assistant Secretary of the Navy, helped arrange large non-competitive contracts for firms he worked for prior to entering service. Specifically, wrote Jeff Gerth, "Records show that on July 16, 1981, he took unusual steps to award a $1 million contract" to John J. McMullen Associates, where he had been president. Navy Secretary John F. Lehman failed to end his connection to a consulting company which does business with military contractors, contradicting a promise he made at his confirmation hearings. He had pledged to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he'd sell his interest in Abington Corp., a consulting firm with Defense Department contracts. Why the change of mind? "I wanted to keep the option of going back into the consulting business when I get out of government," he later explained. Then there is Richard Perle, Assistant Secretary of Defense, who helped two Israeli arms dealers



EVANS LIAISON AGENCY

CIA director William Casey refused to put his multi-million-dollar stock portfolio into a blind trust

UPI

Former National Security advisor Richard Allen took a $1,000 watch from a Japanese journalist

bid for lucrative arms contracts even though in the year prior he had earned $50,000 from them. Also pending at the Pentagon is a criminal investigation of three officials who received $400,000 in "severance payments"from Boeing when they left that firm to take their high-level posts. Since these sums greatly exceeded their usual annual incomes, they appeared to be additional pay to employees in the government, which is against the law.

• *"All anybody wants is a fair advantage."* So remarked former Senator Warren Magnuson (D.-Wash.), presciently describing several Reagan appointees. For example, eight days before taking office, Attorney General William French Smith received a $50,000 severance payment from a company on whose board he sat (or more than he had received for six years prior service)—and he took $176,400 in tax deductions on a $58,000 energy investment. After adverse publicity (Sen. Ted Kennedy scornfully called it "welfare for the rich") and a ruling that he was in "technical violation" of a department rule (the IRS objected to the deductability), Smith returned the $50,000 and limited his deductions to the amount of his investment.

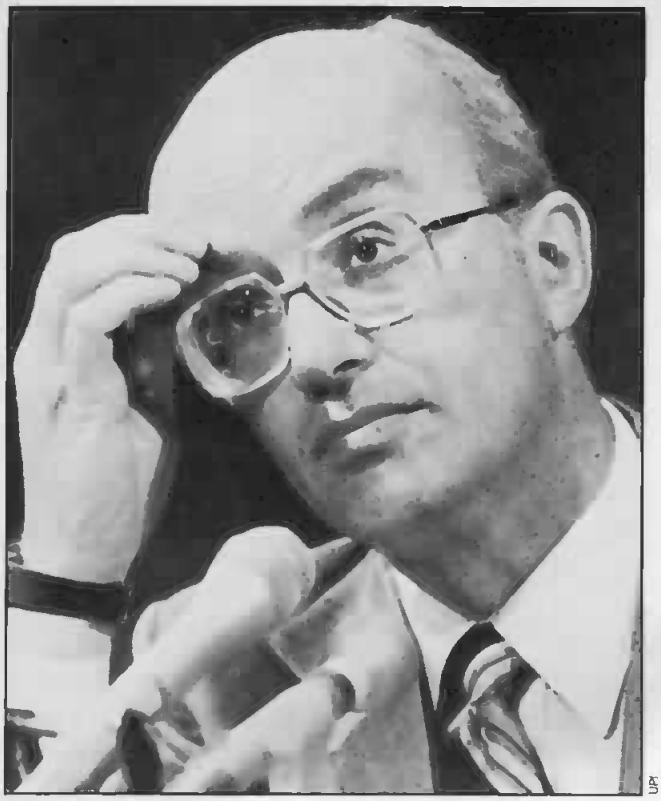
Four weeks before then-National Security chief William Clark hired Thomas Reed to be a special assistant to the President, the Securities and Exchange Commission charged Reed with unlawfully using inside information to convert a $3,000 stock option into a $427,000 gain in 48 hours—and with forging a signature on back-dated SEC forms. Reed resigned. Senator Alfonse D'Amato, Republican chairman of the Senate Securities Subcommittee, said "Reed's conduct was improper, illicit, at variance with the truth, and he tried to cover up."

CIA director William Casey failed to list $500,000 in debts, four lawsuits and 70 former clients on his federal financial disclosure forms. Unlike his two predecessors, he had also refused to put his large stock portfolio in a blind trust—even though he has traded up to $7 million in stocks while having daily confidential access to the government's most secret economic data. Under considerable criticism for this practice, Casey relented and reluctantly put his financial holdings in a blind trust in 1983. The subject of financial ethics is one to which Casey should have been sensitive. Casey's top deputy at the CIA, Max Hugel, had to resign in 1981 after revelations of improper stock trading and disclosure that he had threatened former business associates.

In this context of getting "a fair advantage," the White House appears to be a consumer credit bureau. In 1982, White House aide Joseph Canzeri resigned following the disclosure that he had borrowed $400,000 on favorable terms from Laurence Rockefeller and a California developer to purchase an expensive townhouse. Top presidential assistants Edwin Meese and Michael Deaver got $118,000 in loans in 1981 while they were obtaining a presidential appointment to the Postal Service board of governors for the tax accountant who arranged the loans. White House lawyer Fred Fielding okayed the arrangement.

• *Doing a Job on Government. Chutzpah* is a Jewish word which roughly translates as "nerve;" the classic definition has always been the young defendant, on trial for killing his mother and father, who begs the court for mercy on the ground that he's an orphan. We now have a new embodiment of chutzpah—Emanuel Savas. A conservative critic of big government waste, Savas was the assistant secretary for policy development and research at the Department of Housing and Development (HUD). In 1982 he billed HUD $14,000 for, among other trips, twenty visits to New York City where he spent weekends at his New Jersey home. (Savas once ridiculed mayors as "wily stalkers of federal funds.") Then, he further incurred the displeasure of HUD Secretary Samuel Pierce by directing a $500,000 contract to a firm, Ecodata, which gave Savas $33,000 in consulting fees before he went to HUD, was headed by Savas' friend, and, lastly, was not even the lowest bidder. Finally, Savas used several of his taxpayer-paid public staff to help him type and proof his own book on—if you can believe it—government waste! Entitled *Privatizing the Public Sector—How to Shrink Government*, the book says that most government bureaucrats "will go to work at once to enlarge their budgets, to lessen work, hire still more workers, and obtain better than average raises." Secretary Pierce apparently didn't appreciate the irony. After a Justice Department investigation concluded that Savas had "abused his office," Pierce fired him in June, 1983.

Perhaps the most prominent example of a government official who did not understand the difference between doing good



James Watt sold government land at bargain basement prices

Convicted EPA official Rita Lavelle took polluters to lunch, not to court

and doing well was Richard V. Allen, Regan's original National Security chief. He has receded in memory, but we shouldn't forget how he was eased out of the White House after he received a $1,000 watch from a Japanese lobbyist. In this tradition, the Justice Department is also investigating John Horton, who as the past Director of Administration at the Environment Protection Agency allegedly performed work for several businesses at his EPA office. Robert Nimmo resigned as the head of the Veterans Administration following reports tht he spent $54,000 redecorating his office and had misused a chauffeur and military aircraft. Dr. Arthur Hull Hayes, Jr., who recently resigned as the head of the Food and Drug Administration, is being investigated for allegedly double-billing expenses both to outside groups and to the government as well. After a preliminary investigation, the U.S. Attorney for Baltimore, Maryland concluded that Hayes "has shown an insensitivity" to government ethics because of the way he took expense money from private industry groups he addressed while on the government payroll.

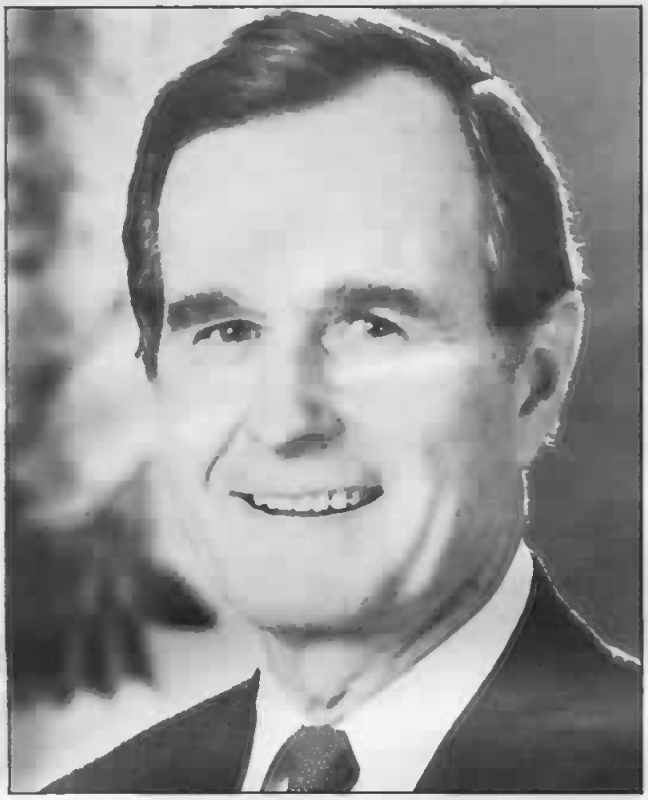
While trying to abolish the Legal Services Corporation because it was too generous to the poor, unconfirmed members of its Board have earned consulting fees that are double the salary their predecessors received. Treasury Secretary Donald Regan, who likes to travel in style, has stayed in hotel rooms at $464 a day and $355 a day in New York City and London, all at taxpayer expense. So, though President Reagan called for a major cutback in travel expenses in 1981, such expenditures grew in 1983 by 20 percent, to $5 billion. Meanwhile, James Watt, while Secretary of the Interior, not only sold off government land at bargain prices ($60 million to $100 million too low), but was forced to repay the government $5,000 for a personal party he threw for his wife on federal property. And Edwin Meese, the President's top assistant, allowed a right-wing institute, the Heritage Foundation, to use the promise of a meeting with him to induce contributors to fork over $1,000 contributions to the foundation. "I am enthusiastic about the establishment of the Heritage Foundation President's Club," said Meese. Sheldon Cohen, a former commissioner of the IRS, had a different view: "They're selling access to important people for private gain."

Again, this problem of doing business while in government is hardly a new one. The very first congressional act of Rep. Wright Patman (D-Texas), who would serve 47 years in the House, was to urge in 1929 the impeachment of President Coolidge's Treasury Secretary, Andrew Mellon, for conducting outside business while in office. Patman failed. Apparently, although Coolidge's term has expired, the malady lingers on a half-century later in an administration whose chief executive has said that Coolidge is the president he most admires.

• *How Business Regulates Washington.* It's always nice to have friends in high places, but there's still supposed to be a clear distinction between public officials concerned about the "general welfare" (in the words of the Constitution) and private lobbyists interested in promoting business gains. In the Reagan Administration, that distinction has collapsed. More often than not, Reagan's regulators come from the businesses they oversee. The Administration's record and process bring to mind J.P. Morgan's remark to President Theodore Roosevelt, when Roosevelt's attorney general threatened an antitrust suit: "If we have done anything wrong," said Morgan, "send your man to my man and they can fix it up."

Two dozen top officials resigned under pressure from the Environmental Protection Agency when it became clear that they were more likely to take polluters to lunch than to court. Perhaps the leading example of this syndrome was "Superfund" Administrator Rita Lavelle, who has been sentenced to six months in jail for perjury in the scandal, and who once chastized EPA's general counsel for ignoring "the primary constituents of this Administration, the business community."

The EPA, though, was only one of several agencies which encouraged secret meetings where business lobbyists could sway public officials. A year-long study by the Washington-based Democracy Project (*A World of Preference: Business Access to Reagan's Regulators)* documents at least 35 off-the-record meetings where business interests made their case but citizen/labor/environmental advocates were shut out. For example, when the Occupa-



Vice President Bush protested new taxes that would cost drug firms he once had an interest in

U.S.I.A. head Charles Wick stays in $300-a-day hotel suites & travels with bodyguards, all at taxpayers' expense

tional Safety and Health Administration set its lead-exposure standard, the 3M Corporation, which manufactured a disposable respirator that did not meet OSHA lead-exposure requirements, filed suit against the agency. OSHA officials then met privately with 3M and agreed to lower the standard. No other interested parties were consulted. Before the proposed changes were even published in the *Federal Register*, a telegram from 3M's attorney to his client stated, "It may be well to inform [3M] customers and distributors that the [OSHA] requirement will soon be relaxed." It was.

This intimacy between private business and public officials even embraced Vice President George Bush. In March, 1982 he sent a letter to Treasury Secretary Donald Regan protesting rules that would raise the tax bills of drug firms with branches in Puerto Rico. Unusual though it was for a Vice President to intervene on such a specific, detailed matter, it was not unexplainable. On taking office, Bush owned $145,000 in drug stock and once sat on the board of a drug firm that stood to lose from the Treasury's proposed rule. Within the month, Bush withdrew his letter to avoid "the appearance of my active personal involvement in the details of a tax matter affecting a company with which I once had a close association." This about-face notwithstanding, Bush's complaint was registered. Said one Treasury official with obvious understatement, Department decision-makers "were aware of his concerns" about the rule.

• *Reagan's Bert Lances.* You may recall that Bert Lance fell from power in 1977 for alleged improprieties *before* entering government, not while in office. So too for Ray Donovan, J. Lynn Helms and Paul Thayer.

It has been repeatedly alleged that Labor Secretary Donovan engaged in illegal labor practices as a businessman. In a lukewarm and underwhelming exoneration, a special prosecutor concluded that there was "not sufficient credible evidence" to indict, and the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee said he was "not unfit to serve." In two investigative stories, *The Wall Street Journal* alleged that J. Lynn Helms, head of the Federal Aviation Administration, engaged in extensive fraud and deception in his private business dealings before joining the government. It further reported that he "apparently gave false information to Congress about his private business holdings during his confirmation hearings, according to documents and interviews with the Office of Government Ethics and with two lawyers who ran a trust for Mr. Helms." Helms resigned as of February 1 of this year; two grand juries and two executive agencies are investigating the charges.

In a major move this past December, the Securities and Exchange Commission charged Paul Thayer with "insider trading." Thayer, who had been chairman of LTV Corporation—and was at the time Deputy Defense Secretary—was alleged to have passed on confidential information he acquired as a director of three companies to a group of friends and associates who used the information to make $1.9 million in stock profits. He has resigned his position as #2 at the Pentagon to fight the charges.

• *Charles Wick.* One top Reagan friend and appointee so exemplifies nearly all these prior categories that he deserves special mention and attention. Charles Wick is the multi-millionaire head of the United States Information Agency. By treating the USIA as his private fiefdom, he has propelled himself into many not-flattering headlines.

First, director Wick seems to be running an expensive day-care facility at the USIA. On staff, and highly paid, have been children of Caspar Weinberger, William Clark, David Gergen, Alexander Haig, E. Pendelton James (White House personnel director) and Robert McFarlane (now the National Security Advisor to the President). Wick travels abroad with three or four State Department bodyguards (which cost the government some $165,000 in the administration's first two years), and on government expense stays at $463- and $300-a-day hotel suites. He installed an elaborate $32,000 security system in his home at government expense, and then repaid $22,053 under prodding from the White House legal counsel, who wrote Wick that such reimbursement would avoid "considerable embarrassment to you and to the president."

The fact that Wick has a big mouth is something of an embarrassment to administration officials: they winced when he

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Highly paid staff at the U.S. Information Agency include the children of Alexander Haig (left) and Caspar Weinberger (right)

WIDE WORLD

Reagan has no problem with the questionable ethics of his appointees

said of a trip to Africa, "Some of them have marvelous minds, those black people over there"—and when he said that the reason Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher didn't support the U.S. invasion of Grenada was because "she is a woman." But worse than Wick's mouth is his ear, and the way he secretly tape-recorded numerous phone conversations. When asked by the *New York Times* about this practice, he vigorously denied it, until confronted with transcripts of his conversations and statements by people he taped who said they were never told.

Why have Ronald Reagan's appointees, unlike those of past administrations, compiled a record that should cause the Government Services Administration to bolt down any loose office furniture? Part of the problem is sheer inexperience and naivete. A study by G. Calvin MacKenzie at Colby College found that 60 percent of sub-cabinet slots and 80 percent of the independent agencies were filled by appointees without any prior federal executive branch experience. Besides inexperience, the problem is that many Reagan appointees are conservative ideologues disdainful of the purpose and the rules of government activity. Moreover, many of them are businessmen who have lived by the credo of profits, not ethics. It's not surprising, then, that these inexperienced zealots have imported into public life the business ethics that had previously served them so well. Federal officials who believe the government should be sold off for a profit assume they can take a percentage off the top—which gives meaning to this Administration's homilies about "self-help."

Intriguing as this proliferation of unethical actions is, Reagan's reaction to them is even more so. A decade ago he said that Haldeman and Ehrlichman were not "criminals at heart." This year he told Anne Burford she could "walk out of the EPA with your head held high," and expressed "full confidence" in Thomas Reed. Of the still-unresolved charges that someone may have stolen the briefing books of President Carter in order to help Governor Reagan in the campaign's most important event, his first reaction was "much ado about nothing." (Chimed in press secretary Larry Speakes, "It's the way politics works.") After the *New York Times* reported how USIA driector Wick secretly taped callers and then lied about it, the President said that Wick "has done a splendid job . . . I don't think that Charles Wick is a dishonorable man in any way." One wonders exactly what would it take to make President Reagan cricitize the ethics of all of these people. Perhaps the president would be upset if the Wicks and Lavelles were to steal a loaf of bread or swipe a pound of ground meat from a local soup kitchen.

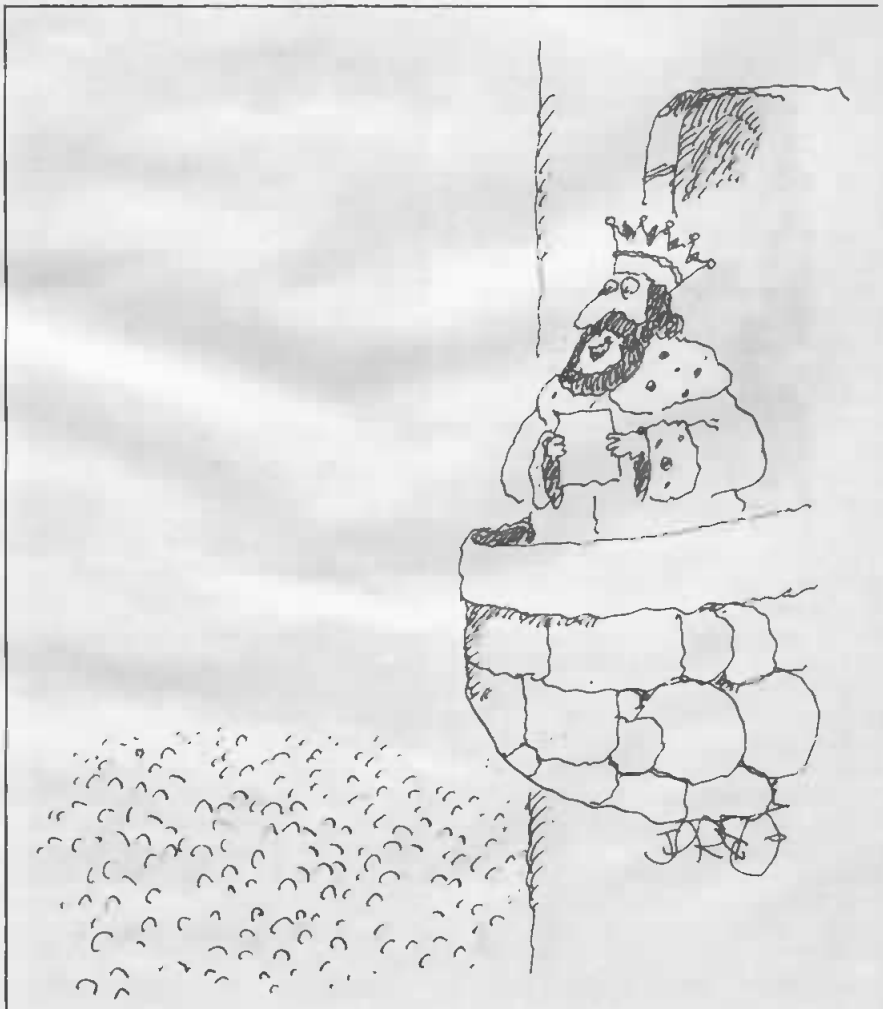
Despite disclosure of conflicts-of-interest in his government, the White House wants to repeal or weaken the financial disclosure sections of the 1978 Ethics in Government Act. White House Counsel Jonathon Rose argued that an appointee's personal finances should be submitted secretly to Congress because of fears of kidnapping and because "we should eliminate the voyeuristic approach to calculating people's net worth." Of course, *Business Week* and *Forbes* annually publish business income and net worths in the millions without repercussion. And of public disclosure of finances, former Commerce Secretary Philip Klutznick remarked, "An intrepid businessman can earn a Cabinet-level salary in a month. If you're not satisfied that the opportunity is paying the price, you ought not to go into government."

Despite this indifference to ethical lapses, Reagan has not yet been held accountable for the sins of his appointees. Ironically, his reputation as a detached chief executive uninterested in details has shielded him from personal blame. A president who takes the blame for the consequences of a fanatical truck bomber in Lebanon can surely also accept responsibility for his own appointees in Washington. But the frequency and quality and orod of the self-dealing has grown so large (said one White House aide: "If you only knew about all the things I've been able to kill before you heard of them"), that "Reaganethics" may yet be an issue in 1984.

It is worth remembering Carter's friend Bert Lance, who engaged in controversial conduct before entering government. Publicity over Lance's problems and Carter's injudicious response ("Bert, I'm proud of you") started Carter on a swoon from which he never really recovered. Yet, the few dozen separate examples of allegedly improper conduct in this Administration have not together attracted half the press that Mr. Lance alone generated. Nor have these incidents been attributed to the president who appointed his friends from private business to feed at the public trough.

The public is right to ask exactly who it was that appointed all these conservatives who have confused commercial practices and public morality. One wonders how long the public will forgive Reagan as a "nice guy" while the "bad guys" he appoints ironically confirm his own criticism that the government is strewn with "waste, fraud and abuse." ■

Mark Green is the author of the fourth edition of* Who Runs Congress? *(Dell).



"First off, I'd like to read a poem I wrote . . . ."

Israeli Aggression in the Middle East

By Ward Churchill and Russell Means

As at Deir Yassin, so everywhere . . .
O Lord, O Lord!
You have chosen us to conquer!
—Menachem Begin—
1948

The "special relationship" existing for more than three decades between the United States and Israel has led to the creation of a mythology in this country concerning the nature of Israel's "unique moral character" and the "purity" of its military conduct. It seems particularly appropriate to mark the beginning of 1984—"The Year of George Orwell"—with an essay concerning the *real* nature of the Israeli national character. The U.S. government and its media cohorts have literally inverted the truth to sell the American public on such Orwellian notions as: Israeli war is really "peace," Israeli terrorism is really "justice," and the dispossession and forced relocation of the Palestinian people from their own land is really "a just settlement of the Middle East crisis."

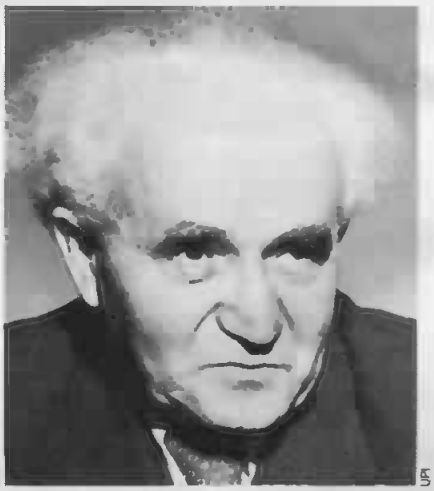
Zionist doctrine has long espoused a "Greater Israel" conforming to the supposed biblical borders of a Jewish national entity. The extent of the territory remains unclear, varying from proponent to proponent, but it always included southern Lebanon, a portion of Syria, Gaza and other portions of Jordan, and the whole of Palestine. The Zionist leadership has been quite unabashed about its desire to gain a foothold for conquest—perhaps *any* foothold—in the region. Consider what David Ben-Gurion, who became "the father of Israel," said in 1937:

The acceptance of partition does not commit us to renounce Transjordan . . . We shall accept a state with fixed boundaries today, but the boundaries of Zionist aspirations are the concern of the Jewish people and no external factor can limit them.

In 1948, with the state of Israel a fact, another Zionist leader named Menachem Begin declared: "The partition of the Homeland is illegal. It will never be recognized. The signature of institutions and individuals of the partition agreement is invalid. It will not bind the Jewish People. *Eretz* Israel (the land of Israel) will be restored to the people of Israel. All of it. And forever." As Israel's first Prime Minister, Ben-Gurion brought official clarity to Begin's statement in a May 1948 presentation to his General Staff:

. . . we should prepare to go over to the offensive with the aim of smashing Lebanon, Transjordan and Syria. . . The weak point of the Arab coalition is Lebanon (for) the Moslem regime is artificial and easy to undermine. A Christian state should be established, with its southern border on the Litani River. We will make an alliance with it.

Methodically, step by agonizing step, the Israelis have actualized Ben-Gurion's scenario. Clearly, what has *not* been a part of this game-plan is a separate Palestinian state, on the west bank of the Jordan River, or anywhere else. The Zionist vision precludes the territorial integrity of virtually every one of Israel's Arab neighbors (Ben-Gurion even held that the Sinai belonged within the borders of the Greater Israel).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David Ben-Gurion's dream was to extend Israel's boundaries

UPI

In 1948, Begin declared that Israel should prepare to smash Lebanon

It has not been Arab hostility, but an intransigent Israeli rejection of the terms of its own creation—which occurred in 1947 through a United Nations Resolution fixing Israel's borders as being with a portion of Palestine—that brought about Israel's first war with its neighbors. This war, called by the Israelis their "War of Independence" and undertaken in 1948 to seize *all* of Palestine, has been continued by Israel to this day.

The staying power of Israel in this struggle for expansion is almost unprecedented in the modern era. This is explained by the fact the Israelis believe themselves to be fighting a holy war, and are fueled by what can only be described as true religious fanaticism. This is clear in the recent pronouncement by a *Gush Emunim* rabbi that "it is a *mitzvah* (religious duty) to destroy *Amalek* (non-Jewish inhabitants), including women and children." In Israel, a state professedly constituted on the basis of its religious duties, and where *Gush Emunim* has become a force to be reckoned with, such views cannot be dismissed as mere rhetoric. As Rafael Eitan, Chief of Staff of the Israeli Defense Force, stated officially last year, "What must be destroyed—we will destroy. Whoever must be imprisoned—we will imprison."

Menachim Barash, a rabbi who reflects even more of the "mainstream" Israeli religious sentiment than either the *Gush Emunim* or the IDF, makes the point even more clearly:

There is no place in this land for the people of Israel and other nations alongside it. The practical meaning of (the commandment to) possess the land is the expulsion of the people who live in it . . . (ours) is a holy war, commanded in the Bible. . . . You shall destroy them, you shall enter into no covenant with them, you shall not pity them, you shall not intermarry with them. . .

Such clerical calls to racially-defined holy war are parroted among the laity, as in the following passage by Yedidia Segal, published in the prominent Israeli journal *Nekuda*:

Those among us who call for a humanistic attitude towards our (Arab) neighbors are reading the Halucha *(religious law) selectively and avoiding specific commandments . . . in a divinely commanded war* (milhemet mitzvah) *one must destroy, kill and eliminate men, women and children. . . The eternal principles do not change . . . there is no place*

The 1967 War was not provoked by Egypt, explains Begin. "Nasser was not about to attack us. We decided to attack him."

for "humanistic" considerations.

This confluence of opinion among the political leadership, military, clergy and population at large have created a national mentality in Israel which has sustained it through its long war. It is also an attitude radically different from the image of the "moderate Israeli" customarily spoon-fed the American public by its news media and governmental leaders. Perhaps the best single summary of the real Israeli outlook was provided (once again) by David Ben-Gurion in his *Independence War Diary*:

The question is only time and place. Blowing up a house is not enough. What is necessary is cruel and strong reactions. We need precision in time, place and casualties. . . (We must) strike mercilessly, women and children included. Otherwise the reaction is inefficient. At the place of action, there is no need to distinguish between guilty and innocent.

Ben-Gurion's question concerning time and place has been well answered by Israeli strategists—both in terms of public relations and in matching their military capabilities to political ambitions—by slowly nibbling at their neighbors' flanks rather than attempting "a big bite." This slow nibble approach has allowed the Israelis to carefully assign blame for each bloodletting on their victims while simultaneously creating the illusion that Israeli territorial occupations have been executed only temporarily, and for legitimate reasons of security.

In contrast to the notion, which has assumed mythical proportions in the U.S., that Israel fights only for survival and in reaction to a prolonged Arab drive to "push little Israel into the sea," the Israeli leadership itself holds a more realistic assessment. Explaining the 1967 War, supposedly provoked by Egypt, Begin has said: "In June 1967, we again had a choice. The Egyptian army concentrations in the Sinai approaches do not prove Nasser was about to attack us. We must be honest with ourselves. We decided to attack him."

The truth of the 1967 War is that it was fought as a part of an Israeli gambit. In defeating Egypt, Israel was able—temporarily—to occupy the Sinai. In 1978–79, following the much-heralded Camp David Peace Accords, the Sinai was ceremoniously handed back to Egypt in exchange for certain concessions to Israel. This was touted by both the U.S. and Israel as a "major breakthrough" in Middle East relations. The accords, devised by Jimmy Carter and signed by Begin and Sadat in 1977, actually amounted to little more than part of a package offered by Sadat—and soundly rejected by Israel—as early as 1971.

Sadat's earlier version included provisions to safeguard Palestinian Arab rights, protect Lebanon's southern border, and return Israel's border with Jordan to its 1967 limits. But in the 1977 agreement, Egypt was forced to drop these three provisions and allow Israel free reign with its northern neighbors. In exchange, the humiliating decade-long Israeli occupation of the Sinai was ended. The consequence, however, was Egypt's quick isolation among Arab nations, its slide into the U.S. orbit, and Sadat's assassination. More importantly, Camp David provided not peace but a virtual guarantee of countinuing warfare in the Middle East.

Camp David, of course, hardly represents the only example of Israeli cynicism in regard to negotiations. It has long been held by Israel, and its supporters in this country, that the main stumbling block to peace has been the PLO's refusal to acknowledge the right of the state of Israel to exist. Such a position has indeed been taken by the PLO and "extremist nationalist" Arab nations. But what both the Israeli and American press have neglected to mention is that the Israeli/U.S. position is equally "rejectionist" (i.e., denying the right of a *Palestinian* state to exist.) Arab rejectionism, the supposed barrier to Israeli participation in negotiation rather than armed conflict, is largely the by-product of this longer-standing Israeli position.

In perfect Orwellian fashion, much of the alleged Arab rejectionism, against

which Israel is supposed to have to defend itself, has been contrived. By 1975–76, Yassir Arafat convinced his PLO to recognize Israel in exchange for Israel's recognition of the Palestinian nation. By 1979 even Iraq and Libya, the most "extreme" of the Arab states, were willing to pursue negotiations for a partition implicitly recognizing Israel's right to existence. Israel has chosen to ignore this.

Once again, the Israelis have been more forthright in appraising the situation than has the American public. Israeli Labor Party leader Shimon Peres noted recently that "Israel cannot conduct negotiations with the PLO . . . because of the geographical map of Israel itself," and told *Economist* writer David Krevine that "the one group we won't talk to, it's true, is the PLO . . . but not because they are nasty people. The obstacle is the subject on the agenda. It can only be the creation of a Palestinian state on the West Bank, and this we can't agree to."

The West Bank area of Palestine—guaranteed to the Palestinian people as *their* part of the partition which created Israel—is now (and has been all along) considered by Zionism to be a part of Israel. This is the real basis for Israel's refusal to negotiate: and it is, by any definition, a matter of Israeli rather than Arab aggression.

This leads to the subject of terrorism—always a favorite of Israel's backers, who apparently feel that the massive casualties inflicted by Israeli airstrikes and artillery barrages is somehow nobler and less painful than the casualties inflicted by PLO snipers and pipebombs. Although the PLO and its backers are typically held responsible for terrorism in the Middle East, at least by Americans, an honest examination of the modern history of this practice in the Middle East reveals another sort of truth.

Pre-Israel Zionist organizations, according to the official history of Menachim Begin's terrorist group, *Irgun*, were the first to use terrorist methods in the Mid-Eastern region. According to these records, *Irgun* murdered 76 Arabs during the single month of July 1938 through such expedients as placing bombs in public markets. Similarly, *Irgun* murdered 52 Arabs in "retaliation" (this catch-word was used even in the 1930s) for the arrest of one of its members by the British. The list of such atrocities could go on and on. Both *Irgun* and *Haganah* (another Zionist terror organization) carried out such activities widely and systematically during the pre-state period. Terrorist methods were also employed against the British (such as the assassination of Lord Moyne in 1944)

Yassir Arafat decides to recognize Israel

President Yitzak Shamir, formerly of the Irgun, assassinated a UN mediator in 1948

and even the Jews (notably in the infamous bombing of the King David Hotel).

Such activities, always given short shrift in the American press, have been continued—indeed, escalated—since the establishment of Israel as a state. For example, Begin's *Irgun* troops slaughtered some 250 Palestinians in April 1948 at the tiny village of Deir Yassin, near Jerusalem. Supporters of Israel in this country have termed Deir Yassin an excess, regrettable but understandable in the context of Zionist zeal to consolidate their new nation. Such a view is a deliberate lie on two counts.

First, the apologists for Israeli terror neglect to mention that Zionist settlers conducted a *celebration* on the massacre site a year after it occurred. This obvious lack of regret on the part of Zionism is compounded by the fact that, by 1980, streets in the Israeli town of Givat Shaul Beth (built on the ruins of the former Palestinian village) had streets named after the participating *Irgun* units. The murderers were, according to the Israeli press,

Labor leader Shimon Peres, says the Palestinians are the one group we won't talk to

Defense Minister Sharon led campaign of terror against Palestinians

"being immortalized in place." Secondly, the apologists ignore the obvious: if such atrocities are somehow understandable—and forgivable—in the context of a zealous Zionist struggle for statehood, they can be no less understandable when practiced against Jews by Arab nationalists.

Nor is this the end of it. As Noam Chomsky skillfully reveals in his 1983 book *The Fateful Triangle*, the Israeli government has tacitly if not openly sanctioned a whole litany of terrorist activity since the days of Deir Yassin. In 1948, UN mediator Count Folke Bernadotte, a man who had done much to save European Jews from Nazi extermination, was assassinated by the *Irgun*; fingers point to Yitzak Shamir, Israeli Foreign Minister under Begin, and currently President of Israel, as having been the killer. In 1954, Israel captured a civilian Syrian airliner (the first known airplane hijacking) in order to secure hostages to swap for Israeli POWs held by Syria. In 1967, Israeli jets attacked the clearly identifiable *USS Liberty* in in-

ALAIN MINGAM, GAMMA

Hundreds of Palestinians were massacred in Sabra and Chatila in September 1982

ternational waters, killing 34 crewmen and wounding 75 others.

This list is merely the tip of the iceberg. The record is replete with hundreds of examples—systematic beatings and murders of Palestinians in the "occupied territories," the bulldozing of Palestinian homes, instructions by Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon to "cut off the testicles" of Palestinian student demonstrators, and so on.

There is, to be sure, no moral distinction to be drawn between Israeli and Arab terror: one is no better (or worse) than the other. However, the methods of terrorism pioneered by Zionism/Israel both predate those of the Arabs and serve as the model by which groups such as the PLO have fashioned their later practices. Additionally, the level of terrorist violence sustained by the Israelis has vastly exceeded everything the *combined* efforts of the Arabs has produced. This is borne out in official Israeli statements such as the one by Minister of the Interior Yosef Burg:

. . . in 1980 10 Jews were killed by terrorists and in 1981—8. In contrast, we have killed about a thousand terrorists in 1982, and caused the loss of life of thousands of inhabitants of an enemy country. This is, undoubtedly, a spectacular situation, an uncommon success for Zionism.

It is argued, particularly in the U.S., that Arab terrorism is worse than Israel's because the PLO has been used as a proxy for Libya, Iraq, and the U.S.S.R.; in effect, duped into fighting someone else's war against Israel. This notion, perhaps arising out of the fact of the Palestinians' homeless condition, is in itself specious. By the same logic, one must wonder to whom the members of the early Zionist formation were serving as surrogates. Even if such distinctions between Israeli and Arab techniques were allowed a meaning to which they are clearly not entitled, Israel is hardly free of a substantial use of mercenary groups.

The "Black Saturday" massacre of Dec. 6, 1975, in which more than 200 Moslem hostages were slaughtered, was carried out in Lebanon by the Maronite Christian militia (the "Phalange") working directly for Israel. The same is true of the burning and razing (with Israeli bulldozers) of Lebanon's Muslim Karantina slum, also in 1975, and the massacre at the Tel al-Zaatar Palestinian refugee camp the following year. In the latter case, the attackers were armed almost exclusively with Israeli small arms, armored personnel carriers and tanks (many still sporting Israeli Defence Force markings); an undetermined number of Palestinians—running into the thousands—were killed at Tel al-Zaatar.

Israel had been secretly financing and equipping the Phalange under Bashir Gemayel and Georges Haddad since the early 1970s, using them as a means to accelerate the internal strife in Lebanon to the point of outright civil war. It is now estimated, even in conservative quarters, that the Maronite Christians would never have been able to form a coherent military/terrorist force without this extensive Israeli backing. Israel's support continued once the character of the actions (mass murder) undertaken by the Phalange became perfectly clear.

Viewed in light of Ben-Gurion's seminal call for the formation of a Christian state in Lebanon, the reasoning behing Israel's support for the likes of Gemayel and Haddad is quite comprehensible. The Christian militias were used to create the conditions of disorder in Lebanon, publically proclaimed by Israel to be the work of PLO "terrorists," which led to the "necessity" of the 1980 Israeli invasion under the cover of restoring order and insuring Israel's security.

Actually, Israel had two objectives in 1982: to settle the "Palestinian question" once and for all, and to redesign the whole of Lebanon in acordance with the Ben-Gurion formula. Neither had much to do with the stated Israeli agenda. Concerning the first objective, Israel sought to prove "once and for all" that the PLO was unable to defend its own ostensible citizenry. In the words of a senior Israeli diplomat, the goal was to see the PLO as "dead people politically," a matter virtually guaran-

teed to foreclose upon any future solution to questions of the partition of Palestine. In June 1982, Israel received substantial support in this when the U.S. vetoed a UN ceasefire resolution concerning Lebanon on the grounds that the effort represented "a transparent attempt to preserve the PLO as a viable political force." Note the use here of PLO as a *political* entity, *not* the terrorist/military group typically described in this country.

Even this analysis of the first Israeli goal is insufficient, as is evident in the observation by the (former Zionist) Israeli writer Mordechai Bar-On that:

Anyone who has visited Lebanon during and even after the fighting would see that the war was fought not just against terrorist organizations and the PLO, and not even solely to destroy the PLO's military infrastructure in the region. It was fought against the very existence of the Palestinians as a community with its own way of life . . , the Palestinian refugees have once again become a faceless mass of people, uprooted, evacuated and torn away from any collective way of life.

As Israeli cabinet minister Ya'akov Meridor ordered for the Palestinians in Lebanon: "(D)rive them east, towards Syria . . . and (do) not let them return."

Toward this end, the sequence of Phalangist massacres was continued, culminating in September 1982 in the massacres at the Sabra and Chatilla refugee camps. Thousands of Palestinians were once again butchered by the Phalangists fully equipped once again by Israel. This time, at least, the Phalange were nominally under Israeli command. The Israeli government, once the slaughters had inadvertently caught the attention of the U.S. and Israeli press, said its army had been "unable" to restrain its paramilitary *allies* from engaging in the mass murder of civilians.

For once, the transparency of the excuse was so apparent that it was untenable, a factor leading to the dismissal of Ariel ("cut off their testicles") Sharon as Israeli Defense Minister. Ultimately, it led to the fall of the Begin government (to be replaced by an "untainted" government which continued Begin's Lebanon policies). This was an attempt to recoup a blemished public-relations campaign through which Israeli victims have been consistently blamed for Israeli aggression, and it was successful. Neither Begin, Sharon, nor any of their associates or subordinates were charged with war crimes. Removal from office hardly constitutes punishment for complicity in mass murder—a matter to which the Jews have

GAMMA

In one night Sabra became a camp of concentrated horror

testified rightly and eloquently for some time now.

As concerns Israel's second objective, the partition of Lebanon in accordance with Ben-Gurion's scheme, according to one of Israel's most respected military correspondents, Ze'ev Schiff:

(the attack on Beirut was not motivated by) a desire to prevent a state of anarchy and save the city, (but) to further a different goal: to influence the election of Lebanon's next president and the country's future political path. . . It was an additional proof of the fact that the goals of the war have been, for a long time now, political and are not related to Israel's security.

Regarding Schiff's last point, as was well known among both Israeli and U.S. strategists, the PLO had ended its cross-border raiding into Israel from Lebanon by 1975, *seven years earlier!*

Nonetheless, Ariel Sharon visited Washington, D.C. immediately prior to the Israeli onslaught where he informed U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger of Israel's intentions. Pentagon records indicate that the U.S. response was to increase its military assistance to Israel by approximately 50 percent, providing the Israelis with the means to pursue a strategy of utterly destroying Lebanon as an autonomous nation. According to Dan Connell, an Oxfam officer in Lebanon during the war:

The Israeli strategy was obvious. They were hitting a broad belt, and they kept moving the belt up toward the populated area and pushing the people in front of it. The Israelis forced an increasing number of people into a smaller and smaller space, so that casualties increased geometrically with every single shell or bomb that landed.

The shells and bombs included considerable white phosphorus and other incendiaries which were supposedly provided by the U.S. to be used *only* for self-defense and which, in any event, are proscribed by UN covenant from use against civilian-populated targets.

The outcome of the Beirut massacre was, predictably enough, the insertion of Bashir Gemayel as President of Lebanon, thus establishing a Lebanese Christian state north of the Litani River. In accordance with the rest of the Israeli gameplan, the area south of the Litani has been effectively incorporated into Israel. This neat accomplishment, however, was almost undone by the flurry of public outcry in the U.S. following the Sabra and Chatilla massacres. Sensing Israeli weakness at that moment, Gemayel opened negotiations with his nation's Muslim majority, attempting to consolidate his new-found position of power in its own right (he apparently even began speaking of reclaiming the area south of the river).

Israel's vengeance for this treachery was swift. Gemayel was shortly assassinated and replaced by his younger brother Amin who, lacking a personal power base of his own, is certain to prove most accomodating to Israeli interests.

Israel's technical problems in consoli-

AP WIDE WORLD

Sabra, September 1982. The Palestinians are "the Jews of our era"

dating its own gains did not end there, however. World sentiment was clearly calling for an Israeli withdrawal *far* sooner than was necessary to stabilize the new regime of Amin Gemayel. There was also the danger that—for the first time—the U.S. public might be sensing the real nature of its Israeli "allies," and that American support might be eroded. The solution to this dilemma was found in the introduction of a direct U.S. military presence into Lebanon under the guise of a UN multinational peacekeeping force. Passed off as a "humanitarian gesture," the peacekeeping force represents little more than a cynical move to reinforce the new Israeli imposed *status quo* in Lebanon.

If peace and humanitarianism had been the *real* U.S. objective in Lebanon, there was no reason for it not to support the June 26 UN cease-fire resolution, proposed at the height of Israel's invasion. After Israel had achieved what it set out to do, the U.S. not only took a leading role in pushing through such a resolution, it commited troops to end Muslim resistance to what one member of the Israeli *Knesset* (parliament) has proudly called "the new order in Lebanon." In a very real way, American troops have been introduced to pursue the hidden Israeli agenda in Lebanon!

The introduction of U.S. Marines into the Middle East had the second advantage to U.S. and Israeli policy makers of doing much to quiet a growing public uneasiness about the nature of the American/Israeli alliance. It has long been an axiom of U.S. policy that once "our boys" are commited to a combat situation, the public will support them. Criticism will be confused/diffused for a very long while, and anyone shooting at American troops will become—by definition—"our enemy." In the same vein, anyone shooting at our enemies will be "our friend." Given the role of the Marines in Lebanon (i.e., enforcing the imposition of an Israeli puppet government) it was clear from the onset to both U.S. and Israeli planners that various Muslim groups would eventually be fighting U.S. forces. The Israelis, meanwhile, would of course still be busily killing these same Muslim Arabs. The equilibrium of the U.S./Israeli "special relationship" would thereby be rapidly repaired.

Moreover, given the reaction of Syria to the spread of Israeli hegemony along the full length of its western border, conflict with Syria was easily predictable. As the final domino in the Zionist game-plan for establishment of the Greater Israel in its full dimension, only Syria remains of those countries specified by David Ben-Gurion for greater or lesser incorporation into his version of the Jewish state. Those areas of Jordan (once cast by Israel as "the great devil" of the Arab world) desired by Israel have long since been conquered and annexed; Lebanon (succeeding Jordan as "devil") has now been divided up according to plan. War between Israel and Syria (currently billed as regional arch villain by both the U.S. and Israel) is virtually inevitable. To date, more than 250 Americans have been expended by the Reagan Administration to make this appear a "most reasonable" circumstance to the American people.

While few in America seem willing or able to recognize the reality of the situation, there seems to be a solid segment of the Israeli population which is coming to its senses. Amnon Rubenstein, a former dean of the Tel Aviv University Law School and *Knesset* member, said, "It is becoming difficult to distinguish between the lunatic fringe and the mainstream of our political life."

Menachem Begin, according to Israeli diplomat Abba Eban, was presenting a picture "of an Israel wantonly inflicting every possible measure of death and anguish on civilian populations in a mood of regimes neither Mr. Begin nor I would dare to mention by name." As a basis for his hunger strike to protest the invasion of Lebanon, Israeli doctor Shlomo Schmelzman announced:

In my childhood I have suffered fear, hunger and humiliation when I passed from the Warsaw Ghetto, through labor camps, to Buchenwald. Today, as a citizen of Israel, I cannot accept the systematical destruction of cities, towns and refugee camps. I cannot accept the technocratic cruelty of the bombing, destroying and killing of human beings.

Opinion

I hear too many familiar sounds today, sounds which are being amplified by the war. I hear "dirty Arabs" and I remember "dirty Jews." I hear about "closed areas" and I remember ghettoes and camps. I hear about "two-legged beasts" (Menachem Begin's description of Palestinians) and I remember "Untermenschen." I hear about tightening the siege, clearing the area, pounding the city into submission and I remember suffering, destruction, death, blood and murder. . . . Too many things in Israel remind me of too many things from my childhood.

Israeli journalist Danny Rubenstein commented that Israeli Defense Forces personnel conducted themselves "in a manner reminiscent of SS troopers." David Krevine identified the Palestinians as "the Jews of our era."

The allusions to Nazi Germany are in no way intended as rhetorical devices. Both the concept and the terminology of a Greater Israel are exact equivalents of the Greater Germany propounded by Adolf Hitler and his National Socialist ideologues. In each case, vaguely ancient "covenants"—scriptural legend for Germany—were employed to explain and justify the will of the chosen people to overrun the territory of others. In each case the stated purpose of the expansion of the Fatherland was intended to accommodate an opportunity for settlement by an increasingly large population of "the chosen," a population quite consciously displacing (exterminating) the indigenous population.

Similarly, both nations were/are unabashedly racist in their self-descriptions. As the Nazis employed eugenics to define who was and was not Aryan enough to be considered a member of the World Germanic Nation (genetic Aryans were considered to be Germans, regardless of their citizenship, by the Nazis), so too does Israel tout itself as the Nation of the Jews, including those of the Diaspora. Both nations contrived "legal codes" through which actual residency within the national territory—even over a period of generations—meant nothing: *only* the code of genetics yielded/yields true sanction of citizenship in either nation. The Jews were "legally" dispossessed, relocated and exterminated in Germany in *exactly* the same fashion as Palestinians and other Arabs are dealt with in Israel today. A major "police" preoccupation with both Nazi Germany and Israel has been how best to prevent name changes and other measures by which "marginal" members of outcast groups might pass as ethnic Germans or Jews.

Zionists refer to gentiles as "dogs" in exactly the same fashion that Alfried Rosenburg once referred to non-Aryans as "swine." With precisely the same sense of élan which once marked Josef Goebbels' aggrandizement of Mussolini's Italy and depictions of the qualities of Slavs, the Director General of the Israeli Broadcasting Authority professes to be "a long-time admirer of South Africa" and proclaims "the genetic inferiority of blacks."

All of this comes as no surprise. It has long been well-documented that Menachem Begin's Zionist political organization, *Herut*—of which the infamous *Irgun* was but the fighting wing—emerged from the very same fascist undercurrents in Europe as produced the parties of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. Nor is it a secret that these European Zionist organizations worked hand-in-glove with Adolf Eichmann and other members of the SS hierarchy to bring about the mass deportation of European Jewry, or that, by working to block the emigration of European Jews to any location other than Palestine, the Zionists figuratively assisted in and quite literally prolonged the genocide of their people.

There has been a concerted effort to cover up this history under the pretext that the Zionist leadership "didn't know" what the Nazis were doing under provision of the Final Solution—a matter amply disproven by Walter Laqueur in his recent book *The Terrible Secret*. The inference that Zionists would have acted differently had they been aware of the Holocaust is further belied by the fact that *Herut* and other organizations maintained open channels of communication with Germany virtually throughout the entirety of the Second World War. They went so far as to offer in 1942 to fight *with* the Nazis against the British in the Middle East in exchange for Nazi assistance in suppressing the regional Arab population.

In more recent times, the rhetoric of the Israeli government implies a tacit acceptance of the Holocaust as an acceptable cost of the establishment of the state of Israel—acceptable, one supposes, to Zionist leaders, though certainly not to any member of the Jewish community they purport to represent. It has done this by entering into the most cordial of relationships with nations such as Argentina, long a notorious refuge for Nazi war criminals of the caliber of Adolf Eichmann and Dr. Josef Mengele, the so-called "Death Angel of Auschwitz." Jacobo Timerman, a Jew whose recent persecution at the hands of the Argentine government is well-documented, has noted how, at a time when more than a thousand Jews had been murdered by the Argentine secret police, "Argentine jailers tortured Jews in prison while the Israeli government requested the Jewish community there to keep quiet."

It is difficult to conceive how Zionism can, in any but the most delusional of ways, be considered to be synonymous with the best interests of the Jewish people. This is true in precisely the same way that Nazism cannot be considered to have acted in the best interests of the German people. To the extent that the Germans were deluded into believing the Nazis represented them—and thus became Nazis—they opened the door to their own destruction. The same principal clearly holds true relative to Zionism and the Jews: Zionism represents the Nazification of the Jewish people—no more, no less.

As to the American public which has trotted itself down the primrose path, believing any pap or pablum concerning the intrinsic goodness of the Zionist state which the U.S. governmental/corporate leadership has cared to present through its media (and academia), a point of reckoning has been reached. Ignorance, apathy and self-congratulatory somnambulism are no longer tenable (as if they ever were).

The wheels of the mechanism bringing a war in Syria are already firmly in motion. The prospect of a direct U.S. involvement is more than great; it is already an accomplished fact. Another regional conflagration in the Middle East, particularly one involving U.S. air and ground forces, must inevitably bring about a real "superpower conflict"—another way of saying World War Three.

At long last, the people of the U.S. may finally be confronted with the *real* choice involved in their unswerving support to the thugs, thieves and murderers who planted and have subsequently cultivated the seeds of Nazism in the Middle East. It seems difficult to imagine that the historical and quite shop-worn arguments towards "containing communism" used by the U.S. State Department to justify America's support to Israel—or the Standard Oil line that the American people have a national interest in going to *any* length to preserve Standard's control over Arab oil reserves—will really continue to "play in Peoria."

If so, resolution of the Middle East crisis should prove rapidly achievable. Israel is all but entirely dependent upon the U.S. for the transfusions of military materiel which have made it the third most powerful nation on the planet. A real awakening of the American public to the true nation of whom and what they've been duped into supporting could lead to the fundamental nightmare shared by both Israeli and U.S. strategic planners: the total and immediate withdrawal of military aid to Israel. This would very rapidly, in the words of a Rand Corporation analyst, "create a situation where Israel would not be able to play out her hand."

Such a situation is truly to be hoped for because *only* under such conditions can the Jewish citizens of Palestine be forced into

learning how to live with the indigenous population, to stop conducting themselves as the mirror image of their own Nazi executioners. This is the only real hope for short-term justice for the Arab peoples of the Mideast. Only this hope offers the possibility of relief from the specter of nuclear catastrophe hovering over the earth.

It is more probable, however, that this is far too much to expect from the population now inhabiting the United States of America. U.S. practice against the indigenous peoples of North America has been shown, after all, to have served as a basic object lesson to both the Nazis and Zionists. The American Indians, who have been called "the Palestinians of America," represent a reality in the U.S. with which the American people have always refused to come to grips. Until the American public is prepared to deal with its own sorry history, and to settle accounts with their own victims, it seems more than unlikely that they will prove themselves equal to anything better than reproducing their own historical ugliness around the globe.

The Nazis—whether they be Jewish, German or American—have had their day, their time. Today, one way or another, that time is running out. ■

Ward Churchill is a Creek Indian artist who teaches at the University of Colorado [Boulder].

Russell Means is an Oglala Lakota (Sioux) and a leader of the American Indian movement. He is also a contributing editor of **The Rebel.**

New Palestine Party

Visit of Menachen Begin and Aims of Political Movement Discussed

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Among the most disturbing political phenomena of our time is the emergence in the newly created state of Israel of the "Freedom Party" (Tnuat Haherut), a political party closely akin in its organization, methods, political philosophy and social appeal to the Nazi and Fascist parties. It was formed out of the membership and following of the former Irgun Zvai Leumi, a terrorist, right-wing, chauvinist organization in Palestine.

The current visit of Menachen Begin, leader of this party, to the United States is obviously calculated to give the impression of American support for his party in the coming Israeli elections, and to cement political ties with conservative Zionist elements in the United States. Several Americans of national repute have lent their names to welcome his visit. It is inconceivable that those who oppose fascism throughout the world, if correctly informed as to Mr. Begin's political record and perspectives, could add their names and support to the movement he represents.

Before irreparable damage is done by way of financial contributions, public manifestations in Begin's behalf, and the creation in Palestine of the impression that a large segment of America supports Fascist elements in Israel, the American public must be informed as to the record and objectives of Mr. Begin and his movement.

The public avowals of Begin's party are no guide whatever to its actual character. Today they speak of freedom, democracy and anti-imperialism, whereas until recently they openly preached the doctrine of the Fascist state. It is in its actions that the terrorist party betrays its real character; from its past actions we can judge what it may be expected to do in the future.

Attack on Arab Village

A shocking example was their behavior in the Arab village of Deir Yassin. This village, off the main roads and surrounded by Jewish lands, had taken no part in the war, and had even fought off Arab bands who wanted to use the village as their base. On April 9 (THE NEW YORK TIMES), terrorist bands attacked this peaceful village, which was not a military objective in the fighting, killed most of its inhabitants—240 men, women and children—and kept a few of them alive to parade as captives through the streets of Jerusalem. Most of the Jewish community was horrified at the deed, and the Jewish Agency sent a telegram of apology to King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan. But the terrorists, far from being ashamed of their act, were proud of this massacre, publicized it widely, and invited all the foreign correspondents present in the country to view the heaped corpses and the general havoc at Deir Yassin.

The Deir Yassin incident exemplifies the character and actions of the Freedom Party.

Within the Jewish community they have preached an admixture of ultra-nationalism, religious mysticism, and racial superiority. Like other Fascist parties they have been used to break strikes, and have themselves pressed for the destruction of free trade unions. In their stead they have proposed corporate unions on the Italian Fascist model.

During the last years of sporadic anti-British violence, the IZL and Stern groups inaugurated a reign of terror in the Palestine Jewish community. Teachers were beaten up for speaking against them, adults were shot for not letting their children join them. By gangster methods, beatings, window-smashing, and wide-spread robberies, the terrorists intimidated the population and exacted a heavy tribute.

The people of the Freedom Party have had no part in the constructive achievements in Palestine. They have reclaimed no land, built no settlements, and only detracted from the Jewish defense activity. Their much publicized immigration endeavors were minute, and devoted mainly to bringing in Fascist compatriots.

Discrepancies Seen

The discrepancies between the bold claims now being made by Begin and his party, and their record of past performance in Palestine bear the imprint of no ordinary political party. This is the unmistakable stamp of a Fascist party for whom terrorism (against Jews, Arabs, and British alike), and misrepresentation are means, and a "Leader State" is the goal.

In the light of the foregoing considerations, it is imperative that the truth about Mr. Begin and his movement be made known in this country. It is all the more tragic that the top leadership of American Zionism has refused to campaign against Begin's efforts, or even to expose to its own constituents the dangers to Israel from support to Begin.

The undersigned therefore take this means of publicly presenting a few salient facts concerning Begin and his party; and of urging all concerned not to support this latest manifestation of fascism.

ISIDORE ABRAMOWITZ, HANNAH ARENDT, ABRAHAM BRICK, RABBI JESSURUN CARDOZO, ALBERT EINSTEIN, HERMAN EISEN, M. D., HAYIM FINEMAN, M. GALLEN, M. D., H. H. HARRIS, ZELIG S. HARRIS, SIDNEY HOOK, FRED KARUSH, BRURIA KAUFMAN, IRMA L. LINDHEIM, NACHMAN MAISEL, SEYMOUR MELMAN, MYER D. MENDELSON, M. D., HARRY M. ORLINSKY, SAMUEL PITLICK, FRITZ ROHRLICH, LOUIS P. ROCKER, RUTH SAGER, ITZHAK SANKOWSKY, I. J. SHOENBERG, SAMUEL SHUMAN, M. ZNGER, IRMA WOLFE, STEFAN WOLFE.

New York, Dec. 2, 1948.

A letter to **The New York Times,** ***December 2, 1948, signed by Albert Einstein***

The American Rebel

By Timothy Leary

"Got your Mother
In a whirl.
Cause she's not sure
If you're a boy or a girl."

Rebel Rebel—David Bowie

The soul of America, the source of our glory, the patriotic principle which has made our land, for two centuries, the hope of the world, is Intelligent Good-natured Adolescent Rebellion.

Our young nation was conceived in righteous resistance to authority—rebellion against George III. Our first bravado acts of cheerful self-definition were show-biz flourishes to tell the world who we were. The Boston Tea Party set the exuberant tone. Dress up as Indians and throw the oppressors' merchandise into the harbor! Our first flag proclaimed the defiant motto: DON'T TREAD ON ME! Our first flaky national anthem put the idea to music:

"Yankee Doodle came to town
A'riding on a pony . . .
Stuck a feather in his cap
And called it macaroni."

Now is that teenage, irreverent, Bob Dylan rock 'n roll, or what!

Then the bawdy chorus summed up the rowdy dance-hall, theme:

"Yankee Doodle, do or die.
Yankee Doodle dandy
Mind the music and the step
And with the girls be handy!"

Now does that sound like the Moral Majority?

Our first formal announcement to the world was the Declaration of Independence. Life, Liberty, and, believe or not, the Pursuit of Happiness. We're not going to be pushed around by priests or uniformed agents of the state, said Tom Jefferson.

And have we forgotten? The basic American gesture of freedom, the sign-language message of our New World is the middle-finger extended to the bureaucracy. The glorious, patriotic gesture! The erect digit! The jolly staff of personal liberty.

Rebels have always defined the identity of America. Tom Paine, a sturdy, outrageous Yankee. Ralph Waldo Emerson, banned from Harvard in 1838 for preaching self-reliance. Henry David Thoreau, in jail for passive resistance to authority.

How about the Abolitionists! Defying the Dred Scott decision. Smuggling escaped slaves to liberty in noble contempt of the Supreme Court.

Then there's Mark Twain. Most literary critics, even confused conservatives, agree that the greatest book ever written by an American is *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Huck is the classic figure of patriotic independence. A rowdy, mischievous punk eternally making fun of the authorities.

Mark Twain's Huckleberry Finn
"I reckon I got to light out for the Territory ahead of the rest, because Aunt Sally she's going to adopt me and sivilize me and I can't stand it. I been there before."

ADULT MEANS FINAL FORM

"They put you down
Say I'm wrong
You take it babe
Put them on.
Rebel Rebel
How can they know?"—**David Bowie**

The fascination of American history is that the same evo/revolutionary process must and does repeat itself every 18 years. As each generation of Americans grows old they become fearful and start relying upon authority to protect them. When we stop changing we get rooted. When we stop moving we settle down into the warm embrace of security. We no longer depend upon ourselves. We get timid and forget that America means self-reliance, independence. We fear the wild, wide-open challenge of the frontier, of the future. We nervously cling to the social securities—class, money, status, tradition, conformity, social approval.

The American dream of adolescent freedom fossilizes with age. The familiar process of adulteration. Corruption. Bootlicking. Ass kissing. Favoritism. Croneyism. Power politics. Old Boy networks. Payoffs. Police control. Worship of the status quo. The growth of bureaucracy which is based on that most deadly word: seniority.

"I can't stand it," said Huck. "I been there before."

It's the sacred, patriotic task of each new generation to revive the American revolution. Flaunt, once again, the jolly finger of rebellion. Parade around town, in the old Yankee Doodle style. Shake things up. Expose betrayal in high places. Poke fun at the Old Dinosaurs who rip off the American Dream to protect their gains.

It requires eternal vigilance to keep the dream alive. Every 18 years we have to confront the adult authorities, dress up in funny costumes and throw the cartons of outworn tradition into Boston Harbor. Challenge the new restrictions. Expose them. Shine the light of truth on the treason of age.

Who are the traitors? Well, for starters, let's take the Rockefellers. In the last 30 years alone this pirate clan has sacrificed American honor and life in order to loot Iran of $100 billion. And the Carnegies, Mellons, du Ponts, Fords—worse than mafia clans. The oil barons. The banking dynasties. Gangs of ruthless crooks. And the media duchies: Sulzberger, Luce, Graham. Chandler. Hearst. Ruthless panderers of the ultimate smut—disinformation. Self-serving propaganda to protect the Old Privileges.

ADOLESCENT MEANS STILL GROWING

"You like me
And we like it all
We like dancing
And we look divine.
Rebel Rebel
How could they know?"—**David Bowie**

The American system remains healthy and vigorous and progressive because in each generation there appear the youthful preservers of the American Dream, the true heroes of the red-white-and-blue. The young rebels.

Of course they rarely appear in the history books, prudishly laundered by the authorities. In fact, you have to start thinking for yourself to find them. But they are there when you look for them. The Rebel Heroes.

The soil from which these free spirits arise is, of course, adolescence. Adults won't change. They can't. Check your dictionary: the word ADULT is the past participle of the verb TO GROW! Adult means "final form." Only juveniles, pre-adults can grow. That's the secret of human evolu-

tion. We are biologically unique because we are the unfinished species, the immature. We are the adolescent apes that refused to grow body hair and tails and big, grown-up powerful jaws. We are the smart-ass, sassy primates who wouldn't grow up. We Americans, regardless of race or national origin, are unique among countries because we are notoriously adolescent. Utopian. Believers in progress and the future. Rebels. Europeans and Asians couldn't believe Watergate. Those Yankees must be crazy, overthrowing their president and vice-president and CIA and FBI! They have no respect for authority, these Americans!

Damn right!

We Yankees worship youth because we are bred to move, migrate, change, develop ourselves. And we have discovered the secret of evolution—you are as young as the last time you changed your mind, sassed the past, charged enthusiastically into the delectable unknown.

REBEL MEANS YOUTH EVOLVING

"And these children
That you spit on
And try to change their ways
Are immune to your consultation
They know just where they're
Going to" **"Changes"—David Bowie**

The only ones who can change society are the young.

Adults don't want to change society. Grown-up dissidents just want to get their own hands on the control buttons.

Every 18 years a new generation rolls off the genetic assembly line wired and inspired for innovation and change. But the Old Guys in charge of the system use the whips of shame-guilt-fear and the carrots of reward-and-social-approval, to wear down fresh idealism and hope. "You kids will grow up and settle down just like us. Won't you?"

In the past those who wouldn't embrace terminal adulthood were destroyed. Or they migrated. Rebels became explorers, sailors, pirates, wandering minstrels, dancing-hall girls, exiled philosophers, frontiersmen, pioneer women, mercenaries, remittance women, homesteaders, footloose adventurers. Come to think of it, North America was settled by explorers seeking the Fountain of Youth, plus daffy Quakers, stubborn Pilgrims, ex-convicts, visionaries, dissidents who couldn't accept the Old World restrictions. "Ship the troublemakers to the colonies" was the classic way of dealing with those who dared think for themselves.

During our first two centuries American society used the escape valve of the frontier to handle the mavericks. That's how The Cowboy became the symbol of the American myth. Of the wild west.

"Oh give me a home

David Bowie

(Far away from City Hall)
Where the buffalo roam
And the deer and the antelope play
Where seldom is heard
(out here away from the moralists)
A discouraging word.
And the sky is not cloudy all day."

But when the 19th century rolled around we faced a brand new problem. For the first time in human history there was no frontier. No open spaces for innovators to experiment. No place for outcasts to live beyond the restrictions of the hive.

So a new brand of maverick emerged. The roaring '20s gave us social rebels—flappers, bootleggers. The '30s produced economic rebels—labor organizers, hobos, parlor pinks, romantic crooks like Dillinger and Pretty Boy Floyd. The '50s produced the psychological rebels—brooding delinquents, tortured neurotics, bikers, romantic misfits.

From 1920 to 1960 the rebel-hero in America was an immature person who wouldn't grow up and accept the responsibilities of adulthood. Everyone secretly envied the outlaws, the offbeats, the sinners, the passionate fuck-ups who just wouldn't adjust. And everyone was satisfied when Rebels came to bad ends. There was simply no way for the independent hero to succeed. The lone dissenter, the rebel without a cause, the individualist had nowhere to go but down. You just can't beat the system.

AN ENTIRE NEW GENERATION OF REBELS

"I ain't gonna work for Maggie's paw no more.
I ain't gonna work for Maggie's paw no more.
He hands you a nickel.
He hands you a dime.
And he asks you with a grin
If you're havin a good time.
I ain't gonna work for Maggie's paw no more."—**Bob Dylan**

The role of rebel changed completely in the '60s when three powerful social forces combined to make rebellion an historical event, reviving, on a national scale, the original Yankee Doodle spirit, reinstating, from sea-to-shining-sea, the finger as the national salute.

The first of these historical forces was the sudden mutation from an industrial society to a communication civilization. All at once this new frontier emerged—not geographical but neurological-electronic. The global village was wide open and up for grabs. Mavericks and free-thinkers welcome!

And, into the new uncharted territories came the Baby Boom Generation—76 million strong, twice the expected number, moving through American culture like a relentless lava-flow of innovation, changing every social structure in its path. The Dr. Spock kids—treated from birth as individuals, fed on demand, spoiled since kindergarten to expect the best. Wheaties! The breakfast of champions! 76 million kids who had learned from television how to dial, tune and consume multiple realities on demand.

And, as provided by the advertising department, a brand new philosophy conveniently awaited this first, enormous wave of rebels. A new conception of human nature, spun off, almost invisibly, from the new sciences. Einsteinian Relativity: your view of reality depends on your velocity and position. Heisenberg's quantum do-it-yourself kit. You, wonderful you, no one but you, determines the reality you create with your mind. And, most important of all—the notion of evolution as the direction of your very own life. Self development as the goal of personal existence.

Bob Dylan

For those born after 1946, rebellion, personal independence, rejection of the system, became a way of life. This was a patriotic return to the principles upon

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which the republic was founded. The art and science of self-hood. Self-discovery. Self-exploration. Self-colonization. Self-mastery. Self-reliance. Self-indulgence. Self-development. Self-confidence. Self-acceptance. Self-responsibility.

"Don't tread on I, Nixon.
I can't get no, I can't get no satisfaction.
Hell no! I won't go!
I won't follow leaders. I watch my parking meters.
I'll get by with a little help from my friends.
And the White Rabbit said: feed my head, feed my head."

It all happened so smoothly! The greatest revolution in species history! A cultural mutation. The ultimate change of the status quo. The change of mind. Suddenly we're all lone rangers out here on the future frontier. An entire generation intuitively sensing that either I am in charge of my life or no one is. It's up to me. With a lotta help from my friends.

So Goodbye to the loser outlaw. Rebellion, independence, moving on with your life, surfing the waves of accelerating change is now the permanent state of American existence. The Rebel Success Story.

And the goal is to maintain that precious state of renewable, full-time, permanent rebellion: youth.

Jogging. Fitness. Diet. Face-lifts. Career change. Self development. Life experimentation. Serial monogamy. Sexual adventure. Continuing education. Rebirthing.

AND HERE COME THE WHIZ KIDS!

"This could come in handy later."
Matthew Broderick in WAR GAMES (after tapping into the bank computer)

The Baby Boomers from the '60s can't settle down into terminal adulthood, because, looking over their shoulders, they see the next younger generation turning up the throttle of change to even higher speeds.

So, here comes the next litter of brash, hip, self-possessed rebels! The ultimate individualists! The Whiz Kids!

Those born after 1964, the offspring of "the kids" of the '60s, are the first generation of humans to be consciously planned. They were conceived not in blind rut. Nor in helpless ignorance of birth-control selectivity. Nor in obedience to the feudal lord or the factory owner who needed more workers. **THEY WERE CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY OF CHOICE. TO THE TUNE OF THE NEW YANKEE DOODLE. DEMAND BREEDING! NO IMPREGNATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION! NO CONCEPTION WITHOUT CONCEPTION!**

So welcome to the Arcade Kids. Donkey Kong and Donkey Kong Jr. Computers. MTV. New wave music from Boy George. Sony Walkmen. Texas Instrument Speak-and-Tellers. Cable TV. Laser disks. Star Wars Robots.

Have you really checked out these 10-year olds today? Listen, these mutant cubs, born with computer keyboards in their chubby little paws, don't sit there passively in-putting the bland reality-food that pours forth from the cornacupia tube of prime time. No, they're the Hands-On Generation. The turn-on-tune-in-take-charge kids.

And it's nice that they're so generous about sharing their novelties with their parents. No generation gap here. The new kids know that their parents are different and want them to be different. That's why Mom's learning to use the personal computer and Dad's into aerobics.

THE NEW AMERICAN REBELS

"Never before have there been such possibilities
and options . . .
"You have more intellectual, personal, emotional,
and sexual freedom then ever before . . "
you can pursue your life-style with less fear of censure than ever before . . .
"You are able to live 40 lifetimes while your great-
grandparents lived but one . . .
You can grab onto life with both hands and experience
it to the hilt . . .
"There is more money around than there are ideas . . .
With one marketable idea, a smart lawyer, and a
sharp accountant, you could grow rich . . ."(Advertising blurb from *Esquire* magazine.)

So we have two new generations of American Rebels, Two new waves of Franklins, Jeffersons, Paines, Thoreaus. The young individualists. Cultural Revolutionists.

The '60s kids became the Me-Generation. Grizzled farmers harvesting bumper marijuana crops in Mendocino. Young Urban Professionals (YUPPies) in Manhattan. Computer programmers in Silicon Valley. Health-club owners in Houston. All pursuing new careers of independence that puzzle and disturb the old moralists.

And their children. Those born after 1964. The computer wizards.

This cultural rebellion is deceptive. It's not a European-Old-World revolution. Not at all. No Marxian theorists, no angry proles and partisan leftists. This is a movement away from the proles and politicos by a new-brand of Rebels, cool and cheerfully detached. Bred to affluence, they don't want to storm the Bastille and take over the old system. They just walk out on it and devote their energies to building new personal realities. What intelligent, sophisticated young American would consider running for Congress? Or spending decades in political compromise to get to be a judge? Not the bright ones!

The original Huck Finn didn't want to lose to the system like his drunken dad. Or take it over like the Judge Thatcher. He preferred to light out for the wide-open frontier.

So with the new American Rebels. They express their independence by ignoring the "sivilizers" who seek to domesticate them. They think for themselves—the basic American virtue. They don't scream or whine or protest. They smile skeptically and go on about their business.

This cool narcissist behavior, characteristic of an information society, infuriates conservatives who sense their controls over others are waning. It also enrages serious liberal/leftists who dedicate themselves grimly to Causes and who condemn individualism as a selfish, frivolous diversion.

The Radicals left over from the '60s are confused. Doggedly committed to the "struggle," trapped in the polarities of the Industrial Age, European-Marxist in conviction, these "Movement" veterans are baffled by the new culture. Their focus was always narrowly political. Like their mirror-images in the CIA they are obsessed with the endless feudal conflicts of the Third World actually siding with one armed faction against another! They simply don't understand that the real revolution of today involves access to new technologies by individuals. And that the tactic of evolution, mutation, liberation is to give young people access to communication tools.

THE OLD AMERICAN REBEL IN FILM

"What are you rebelling against?"
"What have you got?"
Marlon Brando in THE WILD ONES

If you want to understand the future then analyze the movies which kids like. Television is no help here, because its a family medium. Parents control what's on the home tube.

But when kids leave home and buy a movie ticket they are selecting their fantasies, their preferences for an alternative reality. And there you'll find the new American culture emerging.

It was not that way in the past.

In the 1930s movies were escapist fare for young and old alike. Shirley Temple. Ginger Rogers and Fred Astaire. Sonja

Henie. Alice Faye.

The first intimations of dissidence in film came with John Garfield, the brooding outsider anti-hero. Doomed on the screen and in real life to an early and tragic end.

Then came Montgomery Clift the wistful, disillusioned, vulnerable hero, the poignant loser crushed by the John Waynes of this world.

In 1953 Marlon Brando took over as maverick hero. In *The Wild Ones* he played the black-leather leader of an outlaw biker gang—the Black Rebels. Brando's rejection of social norms carried over into his off-screen life. The intense, sullen star made no attempt to conceal his disdain for the conventions of the film industry. But the major role of Brando's life was the tormented loser, trapped by the past. We get from Marlon no model of a life-master cheerfully zooming into the future.

The role of non-conformist (note the negative flavor to this label) reached its ultimate expression in James Dean. *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955) portrayed the modern teenager alienated from parents and society, brilliantly forecasting the "generation gap" of the next decade. Dean is important because he was the first maverick to speak directly to and for adolescents.

There are other grown-up actors of the late '50s and early '60s who have been called Rebel Heroes—the tough-guy Sinatra, the dangerous misfit Steve McQueen, the swaggering amoral Paul

Paul Newman

Newman, the sultry outsider Warren Beatty. But, in retrospect, we see that they were angry adult fuck-ups refusing to conform or neurotic misfits unable to adjust. Rare oddballs who were never held up as positive role-models for a successful, fulfilled life.

The notion that everyone could and should live a life of rebellious independence from tradition, that everyone could and should be a successful rebel did not gain acceptance until the Baby Boom generation moved onto the scene in the late 1960s.

***Marlon Brando in* The Wild Ones**

***James Dean in* Rebel Without A Cause**

THE NEW AMERICAN REBEL IN FILM

"... the young audiences waiting outside, sitting on the sidewalk or standing in line, are no longer waiting just for entertainment. The waiting together may be part of the community, and so they go almost for sacramental purposes... The movie attracts a new kind of 'inside' audience, whose members enjoy tuning in together to a whole new complex of shared signals and attitudes."—**Pauline Kael**

In 1967 the face of American culture was forever changed with the release of *The Graduate*. Brilliantly directed by Mike Nichols, this was the first commercially successful film which openly derided adult society and glorified rebellion in generational terms. In the sleazy argot of the studios the "youth market" had been discovered. What was really happening was that the Baby Boom generation was discovering itself.

Meet Dustin Hoffman, a new college graduate, searching for the meaning of life, alienated from the narrowness and

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smugness of his affluent parents. No loser hero here. At the end of the film Hoffman and his girl-friend escape the past and their hysterical parents by jumping on a bus and heading for the territories. The profound genetic message of this film, *adults are the bad guys.* In this deeply ethical work evil is personified by grown-ups ripping off kids. "Go into plastics" leers an uncle. "Come to my bed" leers Mrs. Robinson. Generational politics made explicit.

Two years later another Huck and Tom film exploded on the scene. *Easy Rider* (written by Terry Southern, directed by Dennis Hopper and produced by Peter Fonda) portrayed its two central characters as itinerant dope dealers moving, not on a raft, but on choppers, through middle-America—contrasting the new idealistic, youthful life-style with the brutal adult system. Many critics pointed out that Captain America (Fonda) and his picaresque partner Billy (Hopper) are not the heroes of *Easy Rider*—but rather adult victims caught between genetic forces. The real heroes were the audiences, the young generation publicly celebrating its rejection of traditional conformity and its acceptance of the new individualism.

During the 1970s this theme of youthful rebellion was continued by such movies as *Woodstock* and *Performance* (directed by Nicholas Roeg and Donald Cammel) which celebrated the role of rock musicians in expressing the new philosophy of individualism.

By the late '70s rock music was giving way to satire as the voice of adolescent alienation and change. *Saturday Night Live* took on the importance of a weekend religious ritual—millions of students watching adult hypocrisies lampooned by Chevy Chase, John Belushi, Dan Ackroyd, Loraine Newman, Bill Murray.

The late John Belushi

Cheech & Chong

Animal House, a movie spin-off of the rowdy *SNL* troupe, came as a devastating surprise to Hollywood. The studio moguls were frankly irritated and puzzled by the staggering commercial success of this rowdy film. Belushi and his disreputable fraternity brothers ridiculed tradition in that most vulnerable place—the college campus. Fraternities, sororities, Deans, ROTC, white middle-class pomposity, goody-goody prudes, crooked politicians—all the symbols of adult authority exposed to hilarious satire.

But *Animal House*, located in a middle-class college environment, was just for starters. Evidence that the Second American Revolution had reached the working class and minority youth was provided by the incredible success of the first Cheech and Chong films. Here was a heartwarming expression of melting-pot democracy. The new generational irreverence—drugs, sex, rock and roll—breaking down the walls of ethnic-regional-racial-class separation so doggedly erected by the old industrial society.

And what an implausible pair of new rebels! Tom and Dick playing Tom and Huck! Another rowdy duo reviving, in their out-caste vulgar, ghetto humor, the basic American political ethos. Thomas Chong descended upon us from the frontier North. His father, of Chinese descent, ran bars in sailor-town Vancouver. His mother was a Canadian. Richard (Cheech) Marin is a Los Angeles-born Chicano who experienced the '60s as an activist student at California State University. When he chose to defy the draft he went in exile to—Canada! A feat of wry migrational intelligence that ranks high in the long record of sociobiology!

In the mid-'70s Cheech and Chong wandered into Hollywood and, with no film experience, no script, minuscule budgets, improvised two films which grossed almost $200 million. (Much of which came from welfare checks.) *Up In Smoke* and *Cheech & Chong's Next Movie* have been hailed as milestones of revolutionary filmmaking. Los Guys tool through the freeways, ghettoes, barrios, Sunset Strips, welfare offices, tenderloin hotels, poking fun at every authority. They literally piss on the cops, disrupt middle class neighborhoods, back their broken-down hot-rods over NO TRESPASSING signs, buy dope, sell dope, smoke dope with infectious felonious glee, make gentle fun of themselves and . . . at the end of the film . . . merrily drive up the highway as total victors.

So far so good. But the rebel hero in films was radically updated in 1980 when the first cohorts of the new Whiz Kid Generation started lining up to vote at the box office. The irrepressible offspring of the Baby Boomers were well aware of the genetic conflict. No bones about it. They knew that enemies of the future are the adults.

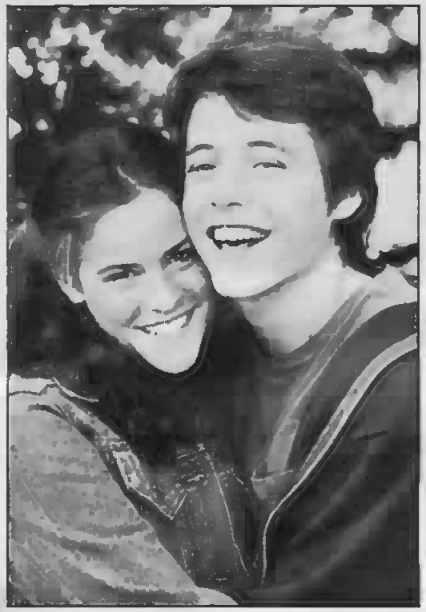
E.T.—The Extraterrestrial is the highest grossing film of all time. It's also the most subversive movie of all time. For the first half-hour only one adult is seen—a pleasant, ineffectual mother. Dad's left. Throughout the flick adults are portrayed as bumbling, well-meaning incompetents. In the last scene the lovable mutant leads the merry squadron of kids on bikes soaring over police road blocks, over the posse of grown-up officials, towards the high-tech, high-touch future.

E.T. was turned down by a top studio executive because it was "nothing but a kid's movie!" Can't argue with that!

Liberals and leftists and old-time movement people hated *E.T.* Intellectuals put it down as a kiddie remake of the Christ myth! In spite of the fact that there's no martyr, no violence, no guilt. A resurrection with no sin—original or retaped.

Fundamentalist Bible-thumpers were

E.T. and his best friend



Ally Sheedy and Matthew Broderick

hip to what was happening. Intuitively sensing the pagan religious implications they denounced E.T. as the Antichrist. They were perfectly correct.

The Scandinavian bureaucracies were not fooled either. *E.T.* was banned for kids in Norway, Finland and Sweden. Why? Because it taught children that "adults were their enemies"!

Damn right!

E.T. is the rebel hero of the decade. He-she-or-it gently but decisively glorified the next step in human evolution—the replacement of aging force by young intelligence.

The DNA tactic of producing positive mutations through youthful rebellion is called *neoteny* or *paedomorphosis*. The principle is simple. The more power you give the young of your species the greater the mutation they will exhibit.

The practical power of neotony was demonstrated in the video game phenomenon. By 1982 kids in arcades were spending more money (six billion dollars annually) on space games than the NASA budget! Pac-Man was outgrossing the entire output of the top studios! Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, Reagan's dentist, diagnosed video games as dangerous "to the body and the soul"!

Damn right, Dr. Koop.

Just in case anyone missed the point, let's consider the two box-office surprise sensations of 1982 both of which presented kids as rebel heroes.

In *War Games* two high-school students innocently tap into the impersonal-human-free mainframe of NORAD. They realize that it's up to them to prevent World War III. They escape from the FBI and the military police. They patch into Ma Bell's phone system with crafty know-how. They win over a disillusioned scientist, inspire him with hope for the future. They save the species. They even generously share the glory with the patronizing Air Force general.

Another heart-warming rebel hero showed up in the smash hit *Risky Business*. Tom Cruise is a high school kid whose flaky parents take off for a vacation leaving him in charge of the house. Now is that a classic myth, or what? Just trying to keep things together he turns the house over to a jolly band of street-wise young women who help him get things back in shape for the adults. Before the final credits he demonstrates that he's learned his lesson from the sophisticated ladies and wins entrance to Princeton. The film is a glorious expression of the new rebel—the goodnatured individualist whose instruments for personal evolution are intelligence and realism.

GEORGE ORWELL DEFINES THE REBEL HERO

"He was a lonely ghost uttering a truth that nobody could ever hear. But so long as he uttered it, in some obscure way the continuity was not broken. It was by staying sane that you carried on the human heritage."—**George Orwell, *1984***

As we move into 1984 it is appropriate to recall the prophetic words of George Orwell on the nature of the Rebel Hero.

Time magazine ran a cover story on Orwell. It made him seem like a dusty, miserable, cranky, consumptive scribbler from a distant era. A real monument from the past, you might say. Like Charles Dickens. Or Dean Swift.

Michael Ventura, writing in *L.A. Weekly*, described what was really happening: "He made the cover but they *(Time)* wrote about the book in such a way that would not make you want to read it. Especially if you happened to be young. And if you think that's an accident, then you REALLY have to read the book."

The genius of Orwell, and his relevance to our day, is this: he predicted the Information Age; he anticipated that control of information and brain-washing based on psychological manipulation would be the tactics for political repression.

"The Ministry of Truth—Minitrue in Newspeak—was startling different from any other object in sight. It was an enormous pyramidal structure of glittering white concrete, soaring up, terrace after terrace, three hundred meters into the air. From where Winston stood it was just possible to read, picked out on its white face in elegant lettering, the three slogans of the Party:

WAR IS PEACE
FREEDOM IS SLAVERY
IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH

. . . Scattered around London there were just three other buildings of similar appearance and size . . . They were the homes of the four Ministries between which the entire apparatus of government was divided: The Ministry of Truth, which concerned itself with news, entertainment, education and the fine arts; the Ministry of Peace, which concerned itself with war; the Ministry of Love, which maintained law and order; and the Ministry of Plenty, which was responsible for economic affairs. Their names in Newspeak: Minitrue, Minipax, Miniluv, and Miniplenty."

Big Brother's grisly manipulation of minds was exemplified in the semantics of the word "free." In Newspeak "free" meant "well rid of" as in free of lice or free from dissenters.

The central point of *1984* is beautifully simple and exquisitely relevant to our times: the basic strategy of effective rebellion against tyranny is to remain sane. To think for yourself. To avoid parrot conformity. To declare your own independence. To glorify your own individuality.

The tactics of intelligent rebellion thus become anything that strengthens the self-confidence of self and other individuals. In particular the key to sanity is to maintain control over your own brain, to keep your hand on your own pleasure-reward buttons. Lust and sexual love. Private acts of personal creativity. Continuing increase in one's own intelligence.

Published 35 years ago, *1984* is the story of Winston Smith and his lover-guru Julia, two brave individuals resisting Big Brother's brain-control. In this remarkable book Orwell anticipated, and encouraged, the new humanism, of the Information Civilization, freedom of thought personified by the Rebel as Hero, individual intelligence maintaining identity in cheerful resistance to all collectives. ■

***Timothy Leary is the sports and recreation editor for* The Rebel.**

Ansel Adams, the world-renowned photographer of the American landscape and noted conservationist, publicly denounces the Reagan Administration's environmental policies

Ansel Adams has always known he was different, somehow—ever since he was thrown into a brick wall, at four years old, during the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. The impact left him with a crooked nose, and the doctor told him to wait until he matured to have it fixed. "Since I've never matured, the nose remains," he says. If not mature, he's become something of an American institution in his 83rd year, a Renaissance man whose photography of the American landscape has elevated his profession into an art form and taught America to more deeply appreciate its natural heritage.

The citation of the Presidential Medal of Freedom awarded him by President Carter in 1980 probably sums it up best: "At one with the power of the American landscape and reknowned for the patient skill and timeless beauty of his work, Ansel Adams has been visionary in his efforts to preserve this country's wild and scenic areas, both on film and on earth. Drawn to the beauty of nature's movement, he is regarded by environmentalists as a monument himself. It is through his foresight and fortitude that so much of America has been saved for future Americans."

Adams no longer takes pictures of the American wilderness he so treasures, but he continues to be an outspoken and passionate spokesman for his cause. When Ronald Reagan became President, and James Watt became Secretary of the Interior, Adams saw an environmental nightmare coming true, and his public denunciations of Reagan prompted the President to request a meeting with Adams.

Current Democratic frontrunner Walter Mondale solicits his advice on environmental issues, as does the Sierra Club—of which Adams has been a member for 40 years—and his photographs command prices unheard-of in gallery circles. Wry and acerbic as ever when he was asked to comment on the recent sale of his famous print, "Moonrise, Hernandez, New Mexico" for a record $71,500, Adams wise-cracked: "Don't they know I'm not dead yet?"

Indeed, he's alive and well, thanks to a pacemaker. The Rebel *sent freelance writer Ken Kelley to interview Adams in his spacious home just outside Carmel, California—one of the settings his own work has helped to make famous.*

TANNER/LIAISON

Ansel Adams from a 1979 photo

REBEL: You think Reagan and his politics are a disaster to the preservation of the American environment. Why?

ADAMS: I think he lacks any awareness at all of the real world—including the environment. I think he's living in a B-movie, a pretty shallow scenario. And an extremely dangerous one, because it isn't necessarily that he *wants* to destroy anything; he just doesn't have any sense of values. His entire mentality was summed up for me by the president of a large oil company whose name will go unmentioned—but he was cut from the same cloth as the rest of the corporate presidents Reagan has appointed to every job in sight. This guy looked out at one of his off-shore developments and said to me, "I don't know why people are so disturbed by these big oil rigs. They look right pretty out there, especially at night with all those lights." He doesn't give a damn about anything else except that his rigs look like big Christmas trees. I think all those guys are innocent slobs in that way—they don't set *out* to be criminals; it's just what they end up doing.

REBEL: The Reagan Administration's great champion of off-shore drilling was James Watt, whom you publicly attacked for just about everything he said and did as Secretary of the Interior. Do you feel relieved—or vindicated—now that he's been replaced?

ADAMS: Neither. In the public mind, he was fired because he made a few statements, but the real reason is that he had become a political liability. Fortunately, Watt wasn't able to do all the awful things he said he wanted to do. But he did enough. So he's gone, but Reagan remains.

REBEL: You had a meeting with him last June, didn't you?

ADAMS: Yes. I'd done an interview that was picked up by the wire services, quoting me as saying I "hated" Reagan. So Mike Deaver called me up and said the President would like to meet with me and discuss why I hate him so much. I said I'd be delighted.

REBEL: What did he say to you, and what did you say to him?

ADAMS: He was quite charming: "It's so good to meet you, I've long admired your work, yack yack." Then he says, "You know, Mr. Adams, we have a lot in common. I've long considered myself an environmentalist."

REBEL: How did you respond to *that?*

ADAMS: I was so stunned I just said, "Oh." And then he talked for a long time about all the tremendous work he's done to keep the environment together. I mean, you don't come out and tell the Chief of State to his face, "You're a liar," but I was sorely tempted.

REBEL: One of his more noteworthy environmental statements, when he was governor of California, was: "You've seen one redwood tree, you've seen 'em all." Did you ask him about that?

ADAMS: What's the point? He's denied it anyway—but it's on tape and I've heard it. Anyway, I had a set of priorities to put to him. I was told I had 15 to 20 minutes. And he was taking up all that time telling *me* about what a great environmental savior *he* is. When I finally got a chance to get a word in, I lit into Watt very strongly, and when I was through, he just looked at me and said, "You know, Jim Watt is doing exactly what I want him to do." There's nothing you can say to that. You just shift the subject.

REBEL: Did you?

ADAMS: Yes, I talked about the Environmental Protection Agency and that other

DAVID HUME KENNERLY CONTACT

Adams photographing and just relaxing along the Point Lobos seashore near his home

noted environmentalist, Ann Gorsuch. Reagan said she was being shamefully railroaded by the press, and that she was doing a wonderful job, too. No matter what I tried to point out, supported by authenticated material from congressional records, Reagan just yammered on.

REBEL: Former Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford has called Reagan an "affable dunce." Would you go along with that?

ADAMS: Well, he's certainly affable, and he's certainly disarming. It'd be nice if he would disarm the planet. But I came away from my meeting with him very depressed. It was even worse than I'd anticipated. His whole stupid reality was confirmed. It was the strangest sensation. He didn't even try to defend himself. He didn't sit back and say, "Now, explain to me about what *you* want." He didn't pay any attention at all, and I was in no position to command it. I mean, trying to get through to him is rather important—he's the chairman of the board, so to speak, but we're all the *stockholders* of the company. As I said, the meeting was supposed to last 20 minutes or so, and it ended up lasting 55 minutes. I held my own pretty well, in that I was able to state most of my views, but it was really like talking to a stone wall.

REBEL: After the meeting, Presidential press spokesman Larry Speakes told the *Washington Post* that the President had "blunted" your complaints, and even suggested that you had asked for the meeting yourself.

ADAMS: Speakes is unspeakable, a terrible man. I knew that before I went in, of course, but to have that kind of baldfaced lie told about *me* simply brought home once again what awful people Reagan has around him. It's shocking to me that they can all be so *opaque.* I mean that in the photographic sense: Light doesn't go in either direction. They're a blind spot on the negative. In a non-photographic sense, that's what all the Reagan shills are—negative.

REBEL: Do you include William Clark, Watt's replacement as Interior Secretary, among the shills?

ADAMS: That's the only job he's qualified for. He certainly isn't qualified to be Secretary of the Interior. He wasn't qualified to be a California Supreme Court judge either. All he's ever been is a Reagan stooge. I don't think you'll find him making the boo-boos that Watt did, but you'll find him doing exactly what the President wants. Clark won't make a bit of difference from Watt, not a bit. Clark fired Watt's three top aides—and replaced them with his own buddies. Then he made a big announcement about allocating some money for national parks which the Carter Administration had *already* allocated—funds Watt held up—but it's just a cosmetic touch. Clark may even have some meetings with environmentalists, like Reagan did with me; that's something Watt never did. But it won't change a thing.

To make a comparison here, look at Jesse Jackson's recent success in Syria. Reagan's diplomatic mumble-rumble produced nothing. Syria's people wouldn't even *meet* with Reagan's. It's too bad we can't have a Jesse Jackson who could rescue the American environment the way Jackson rescued Mr. Goodman. America's environment is truly being held as a prisoner of war—Reagan's war against the wetlands, the national parks, the coastal waters, the very air we breathe.

REBEL: Would Jackson make a good

President?

ADAMS: I won't go that far—I'm a bit worried about his religious fervor. But I'd rather have Jackson's Baptist humanism than Reagan's fundamentalist *drek*.

REBEL: You don't seem to share Jackson's humanist views—or those of your fellow environmentalists—on the subject of nuclear power plants.

ADAMS: That's right. I'm sort of a lone wolf on that one.

REBEL: According to the "anti-nukers," yours is an indefensible stand. From the Three Mile Island disaster to the Rancho Seco plant in California, which turns out to be on an earthquake fault, the power-plant builders seem to be on a collision course with disaster, and don't give a damn. Aren't we taking a tremendous risk to rely on these people?

ADAMS: Well, nothing's safe. But nuclear plants work in France and England and they don't cause any trouble. Over here we just seem to be in a *stupid* phase. I guess it's our commercial system that, no matter what you do, the bottom line is the big buck. Even so, I think it's worth the risks involved. I'm much more concerned about the dangers of pollution from the use of fossil fuels. That's far more immediately deadly. The trees in the high Sierras are being poisoned. Smoke from industrial smokestacks in the Four Corners region of Colorado, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico is engulfing the Grand Canyon. The exponential curve of air pollution rises monthly, and in two or three years it will become a serious health hazard throughout the West. Everywhere in the country we have acid rain and water pollution because of the use of coal. We've lost no lives in a nuclear-power accident, but coal has been responsible for many deaths—just from polluted air.

Rather than oppose nuclear power outright, I'd rather see people have faith in the development of technology to overcome the dangers of fission power as a stopgap until fusion power comes along. If the government and the power companies would invest their money into fusion power research, such as they're doing on a small-scale now at the Lawrence Livermore Lab in California, we'd be in pretty good shape before the end of the century. At least we'd be on the right road.

WOEBER LIAISON

Adams has served on the board of the Sierra Club for 37 years

REBEL: Until then, our nuclear plants will continue to rely on fission, which exposes the environment to a significant risk of contamination from plutonium waste. Since the half-life of plutonium is a quarter of a million years, the "no-nukers" ask why we should trust people who don't care about life on earth 50 years from now, much less 250,000 years from now.

ADAMS: I've talked with some of the scientists in charge of the disposal systems, and I don't think they're uncaring people. But of course you can never underestimate human stupidity. And we have such lousy leadership politically that there are no principles involved. That's what's most disturbing. A good President could take the lead in developing a new technology. The technology simply has to be sharpened.

The fission breeder we have now takes the waste and refines it into usable material—so that it's no longer waste. The problem is that it also produces weapons-quality plutonium. That's pretty scary. But if we develop the *fusion* reactor, all of the radioactive material produced will be less than one-thousandth of that produced by a fission plant, and its half-life is only 30 years, and that's mostly radioactive in the metallic parts of the reactor. The fuel is released into the air as helium and other harmless gases. The point I want to make is that fusion development isn't that far down the road—it's only as far as our leaders want to make it. And with Reagan, the will, the commitment—the knowledge itself—is completely lacking.

REBEL: Have three years under Reagan done irreparable harm to the environment?

ADAMS: It's hard to measure "irreparable" on a quantitative basis. We know the damage is very apparent, very serious, very threatening. If a new President were to come into power tomorrow, he couldn't decree a halt to all the damage Reagan has set in motion. But we've got to *try*—before it's too late to stop.

REBEL: What if Reagan is re-elected?

ADAMS: That would be such a great tragedy that I hate to even think about it. Beyond the environmental issues, I think he would start World War III. Put that war in Roman numerals, if you would, so that the cockroaches—the only survivors of Reagan's folly—will learn how to count in imperial fashion.

REBEL: You think he's that dangerous?

ADAMS: If he doesn't start World War III, I think he'll cause a revolution in America, which would be a very good thing. It's needed. Depending on what kind it is, of course.

REBEL: What kind do you foresee?

ADAMS: I only know you can't have so many millions of people living at such low levels as we have now, while another part of the country lives in such unabashed opulence. Carried to a certain point, you have the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution, both of which took centuries in coming, because of the oppression inherent in the societal structure. It's been said that America won't have a communist revolution without first having a fascist revolution—one preceded by a great disaster. The more I think about it, the more I think it's true. In the worst of the Depression of the '30s, there was only 25 percent unemployment. So Reagan doesn't have to worry about poor people, and in fact he *doesn't.* Tip O'Neill said it best: Reagan has a heart of stone. And he treats the citizens of this country the same way a mad scientist treats white mice. We're all little lab experiments for him. Sure, it's fine if they're fed, but when it comes down to it, let them eat jellybeans. I find the whole Reagan attitude so disturbing I have to be careful not to let my passion overcome my reason.

REBEL: Tell us more about your disaster scenario.

ADAMS: I think a revolution could be precipitated by any kind of major plant malfunction—a coal plant, a nuclear power plant—some major upheaval that affects a large number of workers in a given region. I think the labor movement would then instigate a major national strike. Productivity would drop drastically, and the government would call out the National Guard "to restore order." But that wouldn't work, of course. It'd just be a matter of time before you'd have a total breakdown. A steel mill would close in the next county, then a paper plant would lay off half its workers. A thousand people out of work here, five thousand out of work there. Before long ***millions*** would be on the dole. And Reagan, meanwhile, would still be cutting back on unemployment benefits, Medicare, food stamps, Social Security—all his pet peeves. Pretty soon people wouldn't sit still for it anymore. They'd rise up and say, "We've had *enough!*"

REBEL: Are you predicting something like the 1929 Crash?

ADAMS: Yes, something very like that. In fact, right now is so much like 1929 in my memory that it scares me to death.

DAVID HUME KENNERLY/CONTACT

"Reagan has a heart of stone. And he treats the citizens of this country like a mad scientist treats white mice"

Back then, you had Hoover saying, "Prosperity is just around the corner, the economy really is moving ahead." Whether he believed it or not isn't the issue—Hoover had a terminal case of tunnel vision. As does Reagan.

REBEL: Do you see any hope of averting this disaster?

ADAMS: As it stands now, no. Reagan's policies court disaster. If he's re-elected he'll go hog-wild to implement the policies he couldn't complete in his first term. He'll become an emperor.

REBEL: So are we totally doomed? Do we just sit back and wait for the Reagan juggernaut to steamroller over us?

ADAMS: I've thought a lot about that. We have a wonderful democracy, but people relinquish their rights if they don't vote. I mean, the *people* own the public lands, and those we elect are supposed to represent *us.* If we had compulsory attendance at the polls, as they have in places like New Zealand, Reagan would now be the historical afterthought he should be. I'll do everything I can to see that he isn't re-elected.

REBEL: Such as?

ADAMS: Constant needling, constant writing, talking to people—what any other citizen should do. I'm not unique in that, and I'm not going to give up and say, "Oh, well, the bastard's going to be re-elected anyway." And I do interviews, such as this one for *The Rebel.* I know that this will reach several million people. It all adds up. Every effort counts. I mean, the last interview I gave *did* prompt Reagan to ask for a meeting with me.

REBEL: Why, do you think?

ADAMS: I think he hates it when people hate him. He doesn't mind a difference of opinion, but he can't *stand* genuine hatred. I think he has some kind of weird father-complex.

REBEL: Perhaps because his father deserted him and his mother when he was a boy?

ADAMS: To my mind, Reagan's father didn't leave home early *enough.* ■

AP/WIDE WORLD

The 82nd Airborne rescues "panicked" students in imminent danger of being taken "hostage" in Grenada

Reagan and the War Trance

The Federal machine is pushing us into nuclear conflict by manipulating our unconscious desire to spill blood in battle

By Robert Knight

The Reagan Administration finally pulled the wagons into a circle in the last week of November 1983, when the White House and State Department were surrounded by sandbags and concrete bunkers due to a certain "bomb scare." Not, mind you, the *nuclear* bomb scare issued that same day when it was announced that more Soviet warheads would be aimed at the rest of us, due to the newly-installed NATO-American missiles which can annihilate the Soviets in six minutes.

No, more like the one a month before—when a lone assassin armed with a truckload of explosives literally decimated the U.S. marine "warmaking" force in Lebanon, two days before the Marine invasion of Grenada, a short hop from the Central American border region where Honduras is being armed to the hilt and U.S.-backed armies are constantly attacking Nicaragua, in an effort to crush the revolution in El Salvador ("exported" from Cuba) and make the region safe for slaughtocracy.

The latest outburst of "national insecurity" is the natural outcome of a foreign policy that amounts to a war looking for a place to happen. Yet there's a method to the madness: President Reagan's lurch toward military conflict in Central America, the Mideast, the Caribbean and elsewhere is neither as rash nor unreasoned as it may seem.

Presidents have historically enjoyed popularity surges in times of war and international crisis. This fact has not been lost on Reagan's staff and campaign planners; nor has it escaped the attention of a group of psychohistorians who predict that in the first few weeks of 1984, the United States will be engaged in a Central American war whose death toll could ultimately include as many as 40,000 American lives.

The dress rehearsal for such a war came in October 1983, with the invasion of Grenada by U.S. Marines, following more than two years of major military maneuvers in the Caribbean, Honduras, Guantanamo, Vieques and elsewhere in the hemisphere, including a practice invasion of the "Amberdine" Islands, which became the Grenadines when the light changed on October 25.

Despite what is now regarded as a "vague and absent danger" to Americans on the troubled island nation; the dubious legality of the Washington-manipulated request for "assistance" by regional allies; the deaths of nearly two dozen Marines; and the unprecendented exclusion of the press—the invasion gave Reagan a badly needed boost in the polls. Two days before, the deaths of 240 Marines, for reasons no one quite understood, loomed high on the horizon. Then, presto! The Grenadan "triumph" quickly eclipsed the Lebanese "tragedy" and produced an 11-point rise in Reagan's popularity index, up to 60 percent.

The 9-to-1 approval rate for the invasion, cited by pollsters, media and the White House, quickly silenced serious discussion of possible constitutional and treaty violations stemming from the invasion, all of which should come as no surprise to Reagan's current National Security Adviser, Col. Robert McFarlane.

McFarlane is well aware of the efficacy of bold military action. In addition to overseeing the Grenadan invasion, he took part in a similar act of military catharsis eight years ago, as a White House policy planner during President Gerald Ford's *Mayaguez* crisis. There, too, Marines were dispatched to rescue Americans in distress—the crew of the *SS Mayaguez*, a commercial ship seized near the Wai Islands in the Gulf of Siam, within the 12-mile territorial limit claimed by Cambodia but disputed by the United States.

On May 12, 1975, President Ford ordered a retaliatory attack, sinking three Cambodian gunboats and bombing the Cambodian mainland before, during and after the release of the 39 crew members, at the modest cost of 38 American combat deaths. Ford's popularity immediately rose by 12 percent.

"There is a value in being brutal in local crises to signal the superpowers and regional adversaries about U.S. intentions," McFarlane later observed, as co-author of a 1978 study titled "Crisis Resolution: Presidental Decision Making in the *Mayaguez* and Korean Confrontations."

"The U.S. actions in the *Mayaguez* crisis produced the release of the crew through compellence [sic], the demonstration of decision making and ***popular resolve*** through the use of force and the enhancement of U.S. credibility in the minds of adversaries." McFarlane will have ample opportunity to further field-test his theories on the popularity of military force in his new National Security Council post.

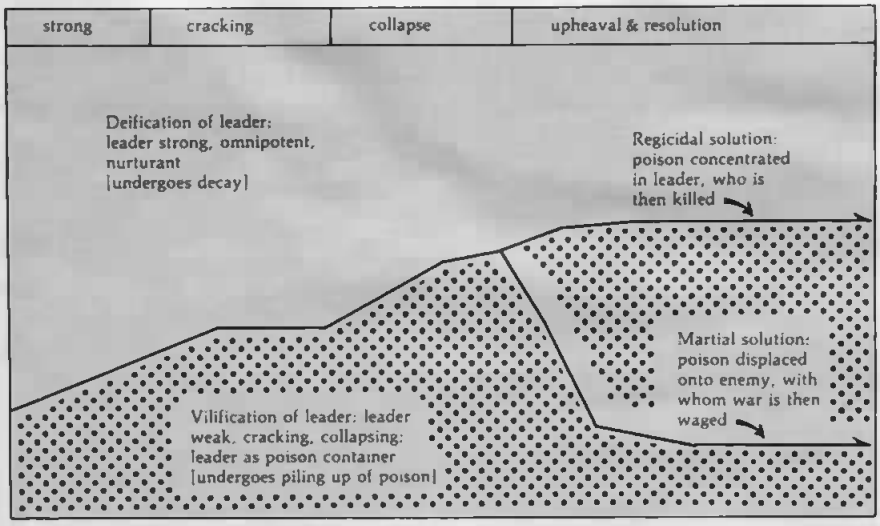
The Grenadan and *Mayaguez* incidents are but two items in a long list of American military actions which drew rave reviews, despite their tactical, moral and strategic shortcomings. Recent examples include Richard Nixon's 1970 invasion of Cambodia; Lyndon Johnson's 1965 dispatch of Marines to the Dominican Republic ("to help prevent another communist state in this hemisphere"); Johnson's commitment of the first combat troops to Vietnam, after the Tonkin Gulf resolution provided a constitutional pretext for the war; John Kennedy's 1961 invasion of Cuba's Bay of Pigs.

Vice President Bush inspects destroyed dormitory site of U.S. Marine force in Lebanon

Many of these actions represent clear policy failures when subjected to historical scrutiny, or even a good cost-benefit analysis. Yet they were invariably popular: Kennedy gained 11 points for the Bay of Pigs, which was approved by 61 percent of those polled. Likewise Johnson's Dominican occupation (76 percent) and Vietnam commitment (71 percent); and Nixon's subsequent "incursion" into Cambodia (56 percent).

Then there's the Iranian affair, in which Jimmy Carter's approval rating doubled overnight from 30 percent to 60 percent, with the seizure of the Teheran embassy and diplomatic personnel—an action precipitated, with forewarning, by Carter's own admission of the Shah to the United States.

Carter's "stunning upturn," as George Gallup called it, was the largest in a half-century, exceeding even Franklin Roosevelt's post Pearl Harbor popularity. But Carter's born-again campaign ultimately ground to rest in a sandstorm somehwere in the Iranian desert when, as psychohistorian Casper Schmidt puts it, "it became patently obvious that Carter was not about to execute the wishes of the people, and resisted going to war."


strong
cracking
collapse
upheaval & resolution
Deification of leader: leader strong, omnipotent, nurturant [undergoes decay]
Regicidal solution: poison concentrated in leader, who is then killed
Martial solution: poison displaced onto enemy, with whom war is then waged
Vilification of leader: leader weak, cracking, collapsing: leader as poison container [undergoes piling up of poison]

Schema of Disapproval Ratings in Gallup Poll (Prototypical Index for Poison Contained in Leader)

Carter's successor has no such inhibitions, according to psychohistorians who have been predicting for nearly two years that: (1) Reagan has indicated a willingness to lead the nation to war; (2) the American people understand this; (3) Central America has been chosen as the battleground; and (4) U.S. entry into the war will come by early 1984.

When and if Reagan succeeds in inciting the war, some 25,000–40,000 American deaths will be required, Schmidt estimates, before America's unconscious need for blood sacrifice is sated.

The phenomenon whereby military medicine provides quick relief from domestic distress has been the subject of historial study, but it has now become a predictive tool in the hands of a group of scholars known as "psychohistorians." Like Asimov's "Harry Seldon," the contemporary psychohistorians have documented what they call a "group-fantasy cycle," and its relationship to foreign and domestic policy.

The cycle describes the buildup of poisonous tensions, frustration and resentment which are continually being projected onto the president or group leader. These "poisons" must be released from time to time, resulting in the sacrifice of the leader—unless he can fabricate a humiliating "enemy" onto whom the rage is transferred.

Lloyd deMause, founder and director of the Institute for Psychohistory (a professional society with branches in New York, England, France and West Germany), laid the foundation for this "science of historical motivation" with the publication of "The Evolution of Childhood," a seminal essay on personality changes between successive generations, and the resulting "psychogenic" pressures on history.

DeMause's radical thesis is that historical developments are motivated by generational pressures arising independently of social and technological change. "The origin of this evolution," says deMause, "lies in the ability of successive generations of parents to regress to the psychic age of their children and work through the anxieties of that age in a better manner the second time they encounter them than they did during their own childhood."

The varying needs and conditions of each generation create distinct "psychoclasses" and group defenses which eventually clash with those of their elders, producing rebellion, reaction and historical group-fantasies.

Psychohistory, then, is the study of the shared motivations of individuals within historical groups—a "psychotherapy of generations." The field draws heavily on depth psychoanalysis, but rejects the traditional frameworks of anthropology, sociology and behaviorism because, deMause asserts, they succumb to "the holistic fallacy that the group exists as an entity over and beyond its individual constituents."

The psychohistorical perspective inverts traditional historical notions with the assertion that there's a ***madness*** to the ***method*** of government: "Rather than how a few leaders maintain power over masses of individuals, you will examine how groups delegate tasks to leaders, so that "power" becomes mainly a problem of group masochism, rather than one of force. Rather than wars being terrible 'mistakes,' you will discover them to be ***wishes,***" says deMause.

The historical interplay between generations and psychoclasses is punctuated by a recurring four-phase group-fantasy cycle, in which fetal pressures are unconsciously relived and projected onto the group leader. DeMause describes the cycle in *Foundations of Psychohistory* (New York: Creative Roots, Inc., 1982).

The Group-Fantasy Cycle

In the first stage (STRONG), the womb (nation) is felt as being safe, the leader strong, and the enemy at bay.

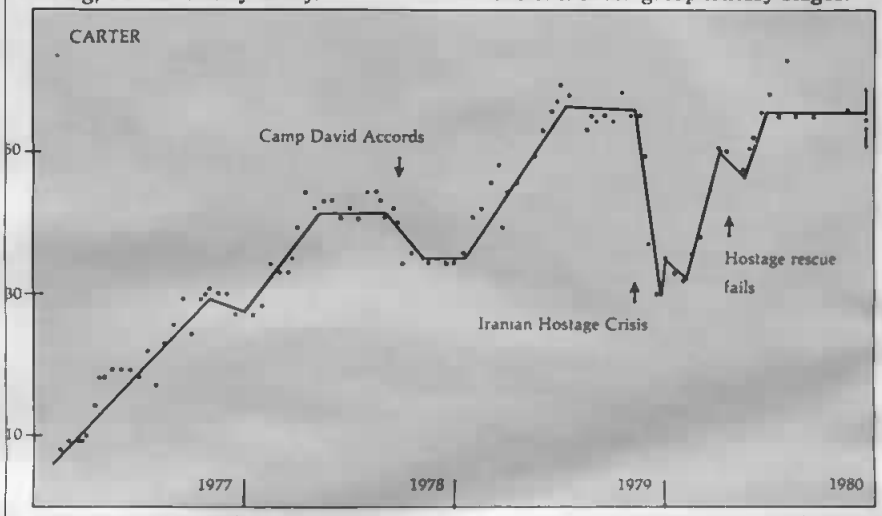
In stage two (CRACKING), the womb becomes crowded and unsafe, the enemy strong, and the leader appears weakened, corresponding to the end of the post-election "honeymoon." This is when the leader's warmaking resolve is tested through mock battles, such as labor disputes (cf., Carter's inaction during the mineworkers strike, and Reagan's rapid action against the air traffic controllers).

Stage three (COLLAPSE) reveals the leader to be helpless in the face of crisis, as intolerable pressures mount in the womb and the world outside. During this phase "poisons" accumulate, figuratively and literally (e.g. Jonestown/ toxic shock/ legionnaire's disease under Carter; Tylenol scare/ AIDS/ EPA toxic dump scandal under Reagan.

The fourth and final stage (UPHEAVAL), corresponding to the birth trauma, finds the "enemy" engaged in a powerful attack, and fantasizes the leader as tough, thereby giving psychic approval for acts of military hostility (e.g. Carter, Iran and the Ayatollah). If the leader fails to displace the accumulated poison to an external enemy, the poison returns, forcing his/her own sacrificial death by election or other means (e.g. Johnson, Nixon, Carter).

"Groups go to war in order to overcome the helplessness and terror and being trapped in a birth canal, through means of a sadomasochistic orgy in order to 'hack ones way out' of the mother's body. . . . Once others plunge into a war-as-birth experience," says deMause, "neighbors feel sucked into a similar trance."

To identify the current stage of group-fantasy, deMause has developed a technique of "fantasy analysis" whereby media reports, presidential speeches, congressional testimony and similar messages in the stream of national consciousness are stripped of all content except bodily metaphors and words with strong emotional charge. The resulting fantasy "message" contains fetal imagery corresponding to one of the four group-fantasy stages.



Disapproval drops when Carter attempts to rescue hostages, otherwise runs high

Through fantasy analysis, deMause has identified six occurrences of the group-fantasy cycle over the past 25 years. Crises identified with the first three phases are generally not acted upon, while the nation invariably gets involved with stage four (Upheaval) crises.

1958: Eisenhower sends U.S. troops to Lebanon

1962: Cuban blockade and missile crisis

1965: Johnson sends U.S. combat troops to Vietnam

1970: Cambodian invasion

1974: Mideast nuclear alert; Nixon's demise

1979: Iranian crisis; "rescue mission"

1984: ???

Dr. Casper Schmidt, a practicing psychiatrist and associate director of the Institute of Psychohistory, has further quantified the relationship between the fantasy cycle and public opinion, in the form of a "poison index." Writing in the Fall, 1982

WIDE WORLD

Americans lost the war in Vietnam. Reagan is determined to make it up to the American people by winning the war in El Salvador

issue of *The Journal of Psychohistory* (a scholarly publication of the Institute), Schmidt defines the poison index as follows: "If we turn the traditional graph of the Gallup poll upside-down, plotting the disapproval ratings rather than the approval (while ignoring the unopinionated) . . . we have a readily available and prototypical poison index." The resulting peaks and valleys lead to some sobering conclusions:

The 1981 attempted "regicide" of Ronald Reagan stemmed from unrelieved tensions overflowing from the Carter era and the aborted Iranian crisis.

Since Reagan's inauguration, American tensions and poisonous feelings have festered to the point where Reagan will almost certainly engage the nation in a major Central American war by January 1984, or face the irrational wrath of the American public.

Although Lebanon and the recent attacks against the scantily-armed Marine "peacekeeping" force in Lebanon have temporarily eclipsed Central America as a venue for war, Schmidt and deMause insist that the national psyche is telling Reagan to "stay away from this conflict." The real purpose of the Lebanese engagement, they say, is to (1) remove the war powers act as an impediment to future troop commitments, and (2) generate humiliation and sacrifice of American lives as an impetus for retaliatory action in this hemisphere.

Whether Reagan, or the Nicaraguan people, shall be the victim of the required sacrifice depends on whether the administration can concoct a convincing "humiliation" to justify direct military intervention. Schmidt reckons that the psychological pretext will be for the United States to intervene as a "big brother" on behalf of Honduras following the Nicaraguan response to some provocation along the border, where CIA mercenaries and U.S. troops have long been engaged in covert attacks and major maneuvers. This is precisely the scenario envisioned by Lt. Col. John Buchannan in his congressional testimony of Sept. 21, 1982.

Schmidt expects El Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica and Panama to cooperate in the anti-Nicaraguan effort, and Mexico to decline direct participation in the war, which could end up on the shores of Cuba, which, along with the Soviet Union, the Reagan Administration fantasizes as the real source of poison in this hemisphere. There is current congressional support for this sentiment: At the time of the Grenadan invasion, Sen. Jesse Helms stated that as far as he was concerned, the 1962 Soviet-American understanding on Cuba went out the window last September with the destruction of Flight 007—the South Korean airline which overflew major Soviet missile and submarine bases.

The only signs of hope on the American side for averting the Central American war are recent polls showing that 72 percent of those polled by Gallup believe "the situation in El Salvador" could turn into "another Vietnam"—up from 62 percent when Reagan took office. But only 55 percent believe the U.S. should avoid direct involvement in the affairs of other nations in the region. It therefore remains to be seen how long it will be until cooler heads can break the pandemic war trance in the Americas.

Even if those outside the current war fantasy can avert the Central American war, there are still larger fantisies to consider. In his new book, *Reagan's America* (New York: Creative Roots, Inc., 1984), deMause posits that a sacrificial fantasy is underway with Reagan as chief priest. The first stage of *individual sacrifice* corresponds to the "cut-slash-chop" of Reaganomics, whose toll deMause estimates at 150,000 deaths by deprivation. The second stage, *mass sacrifice*, corresponds to the current conventional war.

The final stage of *holocaust sacrifice* is presaged by the administration's unflinching preparations for nuclear war. But that's another story. ■

Robert Knight is a systems analyst, former news director at WBAI-Pacifica Radio in New York and non-participant in the current war trance.

Faces

AP WIDE WORLD

James Baker III (above) had his phone conversations illegally recorded by Charles Z. Wick

Now that it is 1984 we are looking to our own Ministry of Truth (i.e. the United States Information Agency) for signs of totalitarianism. But we don't have to worry. It turns out that USIA chief and long-time Reagan crony, Charles Z. Wick can't even tap his own phone without getting caught.

From the transcripts of Wick's illegal conversations with White House aide James Baker III, we discover that Wick conspired to use a bi-partisan meeting on "Project Democracy" intended to channel funds to democratic institutions abroad, to hustle contributions for Reagan's 1984 campaign. The familiar CREEP tactic used by the Nixon gang. How was he going to get these heavyweight international fat-fish into the campaign-fund net? Just use a little bait. How about reeling out the biggest worm of all, Ronald Reagan himself. And who promised that RR would show, none other than James Baker. The conversation went like this:

Wick: "Boy, when you say ten minutes you ain't kidding."
Baker: "Did I make it?"
Wick: "Boy, I will say."
Baker: "I had to take two other calls in the meanwhile."
Wick: (laughter)
Baker: "You are on. OK . . . He (President Reagan) will stay and visit for some 20 minutes plus or so . . . Have a nice evening."

Washington observers have wondered how the USIA can spend its swollen budget, estimated as between 600 and 900 million dollars annually. Maybe they should spend the tax-payers money on grammar lessons for the Voice of America.

Where did Reagan find a bumbling Big Brother like this? It seems that Charles (can you hear me alright) Wick's credential for his present office was producing the classic film SNOW WHITE AND THE THREE STOOGES.

AP/WIDE WORLD

Devo's latest video has a french fry penetrating a donut

No one likes a tarnished idol. Those posters of Mickey and Minnie making out were hard to take. But MTV decided to go for it anyway in 1981 when DEVO brought them their brilliant video "Love Without Anger," which showed Barbie and Ken tearing each other apart, so to speak. Well MTV grew and so did its sponsors and innovative video directors like Jerry Casale of Devo have been all but banished (Mattel was not amused). Now we get to see a whole lot of white girls in high heels doing things that wouldn't make our mammas blush.

But this story has a happy ending. A recent issue of *Time* named Devo as one of the 20 top video groups. Their latest, "That's Good," has a french-fry penetrating a doughnut, which somehow escaped the MTV censor.

Liz Taylor is staying at Betty Ford's Palm Springs clinic to get her chemical dependency under control

AP WIDE WORLD

Betty Ford (above)

AP WIDE WORLD

President Ronald Reagan has appointed his family dentist to the nation's top medical position

Two thousand years ago the Emperor Nero showed what politics is all about by appointing his horse as Senator of Rome.

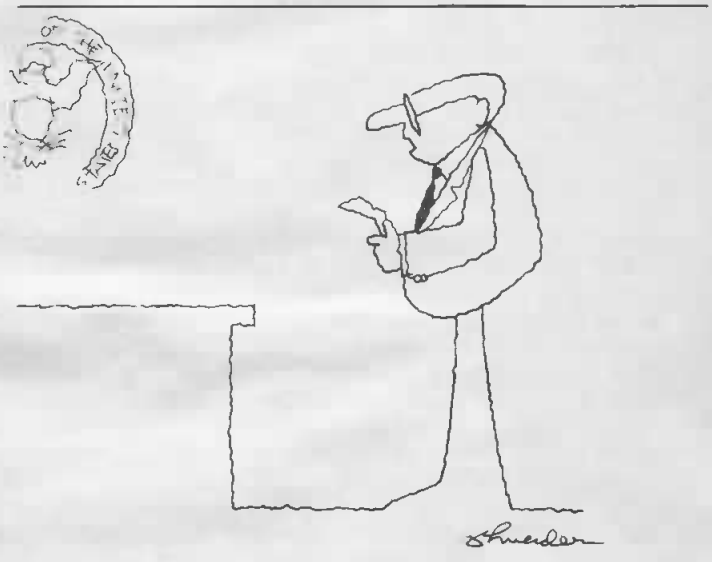
Americans have their very own daffy, grinning Emperor hell-bent on surpassing Nero's record for comic-book appointments.

Ronnie appointed C. EVERETT KOOP to the post of Surgeon General of the United States. That's our nation's top medic, folks! There was just one minor problem. C. Everett never finished medical school. He couldn't handle the curriculum, so he became a dentist instead! His qualifications for running our nation's health program? Polishing Ronnie's gleaming ivories (or the caps) for years. Now we know where our Commander-in-Chief gets his "what me worry?" grin.

UPI

Yuri Andropov

Speculation has run rampant for the last several months about the state of Communist Party leader YURI ANDROPOV'S health. Some have even gone as far as to whisper that he is no longer among the living, or even the dying. The last attempt to cover-up failed Dec. 26, 1983 when the 69-year-old leader failed to show up for the bi-annual meetings of the party's Central Committee. He sent a message saying that because of "temporary causes" he would be unable to attend. We can read between the lines. Drug abuse rears it ugly head again. Yuri and our very own Liz Taylor are secretly languishing in Betty Ford's ultra chic Palm Springs clinic trying to control their chemical dependency. Not to mention emotional.



"I have good news and bad news, Mr. President. The bad news is, 23 percent of the people who voted for you wouldn't vote for you again. The good news is, 67 percent agree that you should have gotten an Academy Award for 'King's Row.' "

Accuracy in Media, Inc.

A right-wing foundation is the new self-appointed censor of the American press

By John Motavalli and Patrice Greanville

The conference was entitled "Biting the Hands That Feed Them—Media Bias Against Free Enterprise and What Major Advertisers Can Do About It," and took place last November in an appropriate setting—the posh Greenwich Country Club in the supremely well-heeled town of Greenwich, Connecticut, the richest suburban town north of New York City. The town has traditionally been a bedroom community for the executives of the Fortune 500, and many of these same companies had sent representatives to the conference to hear a message that was being eaten up as fast as the fancy canapes—that "liberals" and "leftists" in the media have an anti-business bias, and it is up to hard-nosed, pro-capitalist watchdog groups to "keep them honest."

The conference's main attraction was an address on "Confrontation PR" by Reed Irvine, Chairman of the Board of a group known as Accuracy in Media Inc. (AIM), the organization that had sponsored the gathering in the first place. AIM was founded in 1971 by Irvine and other ultra-conservatives worried about "crypto-socialists" in the media. It used to be a small irritant, a fringe-right group generally ignored by much of Washington officialdom. But this is 1984, Ronald Reagan is President, members of the far-right Heritage Foundation staff many government posts, and Reed Irvine is getting a respectful and powerful audience. His message to the three-piece suits in Greenwich was a call to action.

"We're in a long-term battle," Irvine asserted. "Our friends from Nestle, some of whom are here today, will tell you about the attack on them over the infant formula issue. There are a lot of people out there with a keen sense of injustice. They have a desire to do good and they're not always too careful—they'll grasp at any perceived wrong." Well-publicized examples of corporate abuse, such as the scandals over the use of Agent Orange in Vietnam and the potential harmful affects of Union Carbide's pesticide TEMIK (both suspected carcinogens) were actually better described as cases of activists and reporters "trying to make a name for themselves," Irvine declared. Although such reporters posture as disinterested chroniclers of the news, Irvine added, many have "hidden agendas" calling for the "the destruction of confidence in free enterprise."

In much the same way that Joe McCarthy warned of hundreds of Soviet moles burrowing their way into the State Department and the Pentagon, Irvine and AIM are warning that "partisan, leftist advocacy" journalists (as Irvine has labeled Bill Moyers of CBS) have invaded the corridors of power at the networks and the major newspapers, determined to spread their socialist message to millions of unsuspecting Americans. "Comrade Moyers had done his job well," Irvine might imagine some grey-suited KGB agent chuckling about his carefully-cultivated "asset" at CBS. "Another few broadcasts like this, and we'll will be taking over at the White House."

It may seem ridiculous to imagine such respected journalists as Ray Bonner of the *New York Times*, Dave Marash of NBC, Sam Donaldson of ABC, Dan Rather of CBS and John Chancellor of NBC (all the subject of recent blasts by Irvine) as dedicated agents of the left. But such absurd rhetoric is hitting home in some corporate boardrooms, where criticism of any consumer product has often been taken for an outright attack on free enterprise, the "hidden agenda" that Irvine sees behind any reported case of corporate abuse.

"Demand to see scripts and insist on screenings in advance," Irvine urged his Greenwich audience, as he outlined a scenario under which right-thinking corporations would only place their advertising with media acceptable to AIM and groups like it. "Share those scripts with us and we'll check them out for factual accuracy. We're not trying to censor anything . . . We want to help the networks produce better programs, to give us information instead of disinformation." This last admonition drew ringing applause from the assembled corporate honchos, as did Irvine's claim that he had been instrumental in getting reporter Ray Bonner of the *New York Times* taken off the El Salvador beat (a charge that had been heatedly denied by *Times* management).

It must have been a sweet day for Irvine, whom few people had heard of in 1971, the year that an obscure, ultra-conservative fringe group known as the Council Against Communist Aggression and Alexis de Tocqueville Society (try putting that on a letterhead) reconstituted itself as Accuracy in Media, Inc. At its founding, AIM noted that it hoped "to raise enough money from the public and foundations to permit it to broaden the scope of its operations." This it has done, in a manner that must surpass the vision of its founders, who included such obscure right-wing figures as Dr. Francis G. Wilson, a former political science professor and member of the ultra rightist American Conservative Union, and Abraham H. Kalish, another retired professor. Irvine, a former economist for the Federal Reserve Board, had long been an outspoken conservative, but had lacked the medium to attract attention to himself—AIM did the job admirably.

Reed Irvine says there is a "hidden agenda" in news reports of corporate abuses

From this little acorn, which could only issue occasional press releases, most of which were promptly deposited in the circular file at most news rooms, has grown a mighty oak. Irvine writes a weekly column printed in 100 newspapers, and AIM's daily radio commentary, "Media Monitor," is heard as a public service on 80 radio stations across the country. AIM's bi-weekly *AIM Report*, edited by Irvine, is sent to some 33,000 subscribers across the country, and more than one congressman has read it into the Congressional Record. AIM claims a yearly budget of over $1 million, much of this funding coming from sympathetic conservatives and like-minded corporate brass. Richard Mellon Scaife, a small-time media magnate with newspapers in Pennsylvania and California and heir to the Mellon fortune, has given more than $150,000 to AIM. Former Ambassador to Switzerland Shelby Cullom Davis has also given the group more than $120,000, and the Nestle Coordination Center for Nutrition, which has been involved in promoting the highly controversial use of infant baby formula in the Third World (critics claim that the scheme causes malnutrition) has also helped AIM out with financial contributions. Indeed, AIM Communications Director Bernard Yoh, a former counter-insurgency expert under the late South Vietnamese dictator Ngo Dinh Diem, told reporters John Friedman and Eric Nadler in 1981 that 10 percent of the group's funding came from corporate donors.

"We have made grants to Accuracy in Media," acknowledged Michael Gross, a spokesman for Mobil Oil. "We do believe in some of the things they do as media watchdogs." When Mobil is looking for

Corporate board members are soaking up the AIM message

Can CBS afford to keep Bill Moyers?

groups to support, Gross said, "we look at their programs, we review them, and if we decide they're doing good things, we give money to support them. It's very straightforward." Although Gross was not so straightforward about the amounts Mobil has given to AIM, the corporation has admitted to awarding $20,000 in 1980 and 1981 to Irvine's organization. In response, AIM has frequently launched campaigns against media criticisms of Mobil policies, and in 1981 gave Mobil an award for its conservative-oriented ads, many of them placed on newspaper op-ed pages. The ads, the award stated, showed that "giant corporations need not be timid."

Union Carbide, the makers of the "much maligned" pesticide TEMIK, has also given money to AIM. "We've signed up this year on a trial basis for a minimum contribution," said a Carbide spokesman. "We prefer not to disclose the amount, but we did want to get a look at their publication." Union Carbide's interest in AIM is understandable, because Irvine has done yeoman work in the service of the company, particularly where TEMIK is concerned. After an August 1982 CBS News series on TEMIK produced by Bill Moyers was aired, Irvine swung into action. After receiving information from Union Carbide refuting the program's contention that TEMIK was potentially harmful to people coming into contact with it, Irvine sent a seven-page letter to CBS News President Van Gordon Sauter, basically repeating Union Carbide's complaints about the program. Irvine claimed that Moyers was "carrying water" for a "radical group" called Science for the People. After trying to discredit these sources he concluded his letter, "Now with his unfair attack on Union Carbide and one of its most highly useful products, TEMIK, we must raise the question of whether or not Mr. Moyers' partisan leftist advocacy journalism does not pose a serious problem for CBS News and its credibility. Can you really afford to keep Bill Moyers as your resident advocacy journalist?"

Moyers has been a frequent target of Irvine's wrath, and the AIM founder's modus operandi was starkly revealed after a CBS Moyers documentary entitled *People Like Us*, about the Reagan Administration, was aired in April 1981. After a flurry of AIM pressure letters, the group was successful in getting Holiday Inn, one of the sponsors of the *People Like Us* documentary, to threaten to stop payment on its check for their commercial. "We felt the program was biased, narrow, one-sided, not news—but propaganda," said then Holiday Inn V.P. for Communications William D. Goforth in a letter to AIM. "Because we were misled about the program's content, we have informed CBS that we will not pay for the Holiday Inn commercial aired during the *People Like Us* program." Tina Blackshare, a spokeswoman for Holiday Inns, said the company had been subsequently told by its advertising agency, Young and Rubicam, that it was "obligated" to pay for the ad, and had done so. She said Holiday Inn was "not as a company affiliated with Accuracy in Media," and had made "no contributions" to the group.

Other corporations involved in sponsoring *People Like Us*, including K-Mart and Ralston Purina, also expressed "concern" over the program's content. K-Mart stated that it had not been informed that the program was controversial. K-Mart spokesman Bob Stevenson denied that his company had given any contributions to AIM however, adding that AIM is "a very conservative group and, like any other group, they can become zealots at their task." K-Mart's policy, Stevenson said, is "not to be involved in (sponsoring) anything controversial anyway." He noted that an AIM newsletter had asked for a letter-writing campaign against K-Mart and other sponsors of the Moyers program, urging that they "follow the excellent example set by Holiday Inn." Stevenson added, "What ticked me off about AIM is that, without checking with us, they sicked their membership on us." Moyers himself, in a February 1983 speech, noted, "Reed Irvine, who is to accuracy in media what Cleopatra was to chastity on the Nile, was seen in the corridors of power fuming that CBS would not give equal time, that a few good words might be said in behalf of poverty as a builder of character."

More recently, AIM has trained its sights on ABC for its TV movie *The Day After*, which was about the aftermath of a nuclear war. Irvine friend Robert Moss, co-author of the right-wing propaganda novels *The Spike* and *Monimbo*, spoke at the Greenwich conference, terming *The Day After* "the greatest success ever for the unilateral disarmament lobby." Irvine chimed in as well about the film, calling it a biased effort that "meshes with the Soviet propaganda campaign to halt the Cruise and Pershing II missiles." AIM hardly satisfied itself with verbal criticism of the film, however. The group sent 450 letters to potential advertisers urging them to drop sponsorship of the program.

In response, AIM was invited by ABC to view the program October 21 at the network's New York headquarters. Despite assurances from Anthony Thomopolous, president of the ABC broadcast group, that the program was not political, Irvine went on to proclaim in *AIM Report* that "ABC is handing the Soviets a tremendous propaganda assist with *The Day After*. . . . Any firm that advertises on it can rest assured that AIM will publish the name and address of the chief executive officer so that our members can let him know how they feel about it. We will encourage other organizations to do the same." AIM later claimed that it was instrumental in reduc-

The Day After *was a Soviet propaganda film, according to AIM*

ing advertising rates for the show from $135,000 a minute to $100,000, causing ABC to lose at least $2 million. Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum, which claims 50,000 members, also wrote to more than 100 ABC affiliates asking for equal time, terming the program a "two-hour political editorial." The American Security Council, a hawkish group, also sent telegrams to ABC brass. The hoped-for result motivating these groups was to instill a chilling affect on the media in general, forestalling such controversial productions in the future.

AIM has also attacked NBC for the recent docu-drama on the Kennedy years, telecast in November. Irvine said the program "viciously caricatures the late J. Edgar Hoover." In an interesting illustration of AIM's pulling power, the Xerox Corporation, one of the sponsors of the Kennedy program, acknowledged getting 12 letters from individuals who were exercised about the company's involvement in the broadcast. The company denied that this has affected its advertising policy, but few would deny that such campaigns have had an affect on extremely image-conscious corporations.

Irvine's claims sometimes far outstrip his actual influence. In one notable example, AIM placed an ad in the Moonie-supported *Washington Times* last July, claiming partial credit for the scandal over the "biased and sloppy" 1982 CBS documentary *The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception*. The controversy has erupted into a $120 million lawsuit filed by retired Gen. William Westmoreland. The general, a staunch conservative, was "absolutely furious" when he saw the ad, according to a spokesman for Westmoreland. In a letter to Irvine, "Westy" called the ad "repugnant," adding that it had given the false impression that he was part of a right-wing movement to 'get' the press." A chastened Irvine later apologized, writing in a letter to Westmoreland, "I hope we can still be friends."

Such setbacks for AIM are relatively rare these days, however, and ideological allies in the Reagan Administration have done much to help keep the pressure on the major media, forcing ABC's Sam Donaldson to ask Reagan at a recent press conference if he thought the news media were not on "our side" (this was in response to the administration's muzzling of the press over Grenada, an action Irvine has enthusiastically applauded). CBS anchor Dan Rather told the *New York Times* in November that his network's news division had been the subject of "unrelenting" criticism from the Reagan Administration. Republican officials, Rather said, "know television" and know "where the levers of power are." White House Communications Director David Green has admitted to holding "conversations" with CBS about news coverage, adding that some Reaganites from the right side of the spectrum have been urging "a public war with the networks."

Network news executives acknowledge that they hear from Irvine, although most deny they are influenced by AIM. "We deal with this guy on an all-too regular basis," says Gene Mater, CBS vice-president for Communications and News Practices. "We correspond regularly. He claimed that he helped us set up a policy on news standards in 1976, and that's nonsense. He has no influence as far as this organization goes. AIM believes in censorship, and his organization should be called Advocacy in Media, because he objects to anything that doesn't suit his particular purpose. His attacks are quite frequently totally irresponsible. He's done irreparable harm to the word accuracy."

Mater described a recent three-page letter he had received from Irvine in which the AIM founder had taken CBS to task for not giving more coverage to the recent, still unsolved bombing of Senate chambers than they had the terrorist explosion at Marine headquarters in Beirut. "His point was that the hands of the FBI are tied in regards to investigation of suspect groups. He thought we should be doing stories about this." Irvine had also written Mater a letter objecting to a report from correspondent Ed Rabel on the scene in Cuba. CBS, Irvine charged, had not mentioned that the report was subject to Cuban censorship, as had been done during the network's coverage of the Grenada invasion. Mater said he had patiently pointed out to Irvine that Rabel's report was *not* subjected to Cuban censorship, but such facts had little effect on the man. "He objects to Castro appearing on TV at all, unless you're depicting him in the most derogatory form imaginable," Mater concluded. He added that Irvine had tried to get CBS recently to sponsor an AIM award. "I wrote to him that we wanted neither praise nor blame from him," Mater said. "He has no credibility, and many of his attacks are off the wall."

Not all network news executives are quite so quick to dismiss Irvine. AIM had launched a blistering attack against Dave Marash (now with NBC) for a *20/20* segment on ABC in February 1980 on Nicaragua. Irvine called the show "a very rosy and very false picture of human rights in Nicaragua under the Sandinistas." Marash was called on the carpet by ABC executives and asked to prepare a point-by-point rebuttal of Irvine's charges. Marash now says that the incident didn't bother him too much. "They didn't address me *per se*," he recalled. "It was all really addressed over my head to my employer, but I was able to convince (ABC) that the piece was factually solid, and it went away. That seems to me in fact to be a healthy process, not a bad process." He acknowledges, however, that AIM's pressure on him reached unexpected heights.

"I was sort of their com/symp (communist sympathizer) foldout for about three straight months in their newsletter," he remembered. "Then, about a year later, I did a report on Grenada for local CBS, WCBS-TV (in New York), in which I said that the influx of weapons from Cuba had translated what originally claimed to be a democratic revolution into a police state. AIM immediately invited me to address their national conference." Marash accepted the offer, and at the conference

AP WIDE WORLD

AIM defended the late J. Edgar Hoover against NBC's docudrama on J.F.K.

proceeded to tell the group that both reports had been factually correct, and that this was what reporting was supposed to be about. "And then I went on and tried to explain the difference (between Grenada and Nicaragua) in terms of that uniquely American concept, the consent of the governed. They laughed as if I were Woody Allen. I mean they were literally rolling in the aisles." Marash added that ABC had refused to give AIM any rebuttal time over the Nicaragua segment, and had also refused to make any retractions.

NBC news producer Sharon Sopher has also been the subject of an AIM attack. Her independent documentary *Blood and Sand*, about the guerilla war over the Western Sahara in North Africa, was subjected to an indignant attack by Irvine after it ran on PBS in 1982. Conservative pressure on PBS was intense, partly because of allegations that former Secretary of State Haig had not told the truth about the Western Sahara at a Congressional hearing. The program was finally shown in a less desirable time slot than had originally been planned, and this only after Sopher had refused to make a number of suggested changes recommended by PBS Director of News and Current Affairs Programming Barry Chase. Irvine was still not satisfied. "Giving this documentary a 'less desirable time slot' because of questions that PBS had about it was not enough," he wrote in *AIM Report*. "It should have been given the axe, because it fails to measure up to the requirements of fairness, objectivity and balance—requirements that Congress mandated for programs produced with funds supplied by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting."

"They (AIM) have the ability to get appointments with top-level people at the networks," Sopher notes. "He takes pot shots at a lot of people, and you couple that with the attitude of the Reagan Administration, and you have a problem. As regards *Blood and Sand*, he was urging people to write to (Washington PBS outlet) WETA, to protest U.S. taxpayer money going for that kind of 'propaganda,' when the funding actually came from private foundations. This is the kind of disinformation he specializes in."

AIM also spearheaded a strong challenge to the license of Washington's listener-supported WPFW-FM, affiliated with the Berkeley-based Pacifica Foundation. After Irvine launched a broad-scale attack on the entire Pacifica network in 1980 for allegedly promoting "racial hatred," broadcasting "filth" and advocating "revolution and Marxist Doctrine," a whole chorus of right-wing groups piped in, culminating in a strong challenge to WPFW's license two years later from the American Legal Foundation, a right-wing "public interest" group. The station kept its license, but the message it received was clear—powerful people in Washington wanted them silenced.

"Yes, they are influential in terms of exercising their threat to influence advertiser," argues Louis Wolf, editor of *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, an intelligence community watchdog publication that has been a frequent target of Irvine's criticism. "If you don't hew to the line you should, according to their view of the world, they will bring advertisers down on your heads." Wolf said he had "no problem" with AIM as long as it stuck to its declared agenda, pointing out inaccuracies in the media. "Their program is not about accuracy, however. They are an ideological group."

Indeed, Irvine told *The Rebel* in a brief interview at the Greenwich conference that he was "as ideological as hell," and the AIM founder also admitted to newsman Fred Friendly, in his book *The Good Guys, The Bad Guys and the First Amendment* that he generally selects left groups and individuals for attack. "I guess you could say that conservatives are always being screwed by the media," he told Friendly.

In a December 7 letter to one of the authors of this article, however, Irvine was not so forthcoming. "I and my associates have said many times that we are trying to keep the media from discrediting themselves by unethical, inaccurate and distorted reporting and by their arrogant treatment of those who venture to criticize them," he stated. "We think that they might possibly be persuaded to reform if those who are paying their bills, the subscribers and the advertisers, demand that they do so." He added, "I am not sure why you find it so terrifying that we should suggest that advertisers check out programs they are asked to sponsor for accuracy. Are you opposed to accuracy? . . . What in the world is wrong with those who believe in accuracy seeking to promote that admirable objective?"

Irvine strongly objected to any implied association of his methods with those of the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy. "Of course, if the implication is that I am an anti-communist, I would hasten to affirm that I am that. But I didn't know that everyone who opposes communism is considered to be a 'Joe McCarthy.' You will have a very long and difficult research project on your hands if you set out to document my having ever called anyone a Communist without good evidence to back up the charge." Not all of Irvine's associates seem to share his scruples. When asked at the Greenwich conference about the perceived similarities between AIM's actions and those of the late senator from Wisconsin, AIM Communications Director replied. "What's wrong with McCarthyism?" ■

***John Motavalli is a regular contributor to* The Rebel.**

Patrice Greanville is a free-lance writer and editor living in Norwalk, Connecticut.

James Motavalli, editor of the Fairfield Advocate weekly in Connecticut, assisted in writing this article.

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A Letter From J. Edgar Hoover on Behalf of Ronald Reagan

Ronald Reagan was willing to squeal on his friends in the film industry to Joseph McCarthy and his witch hunters

Throughout American history there have been times when this nation turned against itself in a mad frenzy to deny its traditions of political liberty and dissent. The best-known from our distant past were the Salem witch hunts. Most recently, it was the McCarthy era that cast aside our revolutionary ideal of dissent in a free society and replaced it with the loyalty oath, public swearing of faith and the secret police.

Center stage, and at the height of power, was the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). Its chairman, J. Parnell Thomas (who was later convicted of embezzling government funds and sentenced to three years at the federal prison in Danbury, Connecticut) was determined, in 1947, to turn the spotlight on Hollywood. He vowed to expose "un-Americanism" in the film industry.

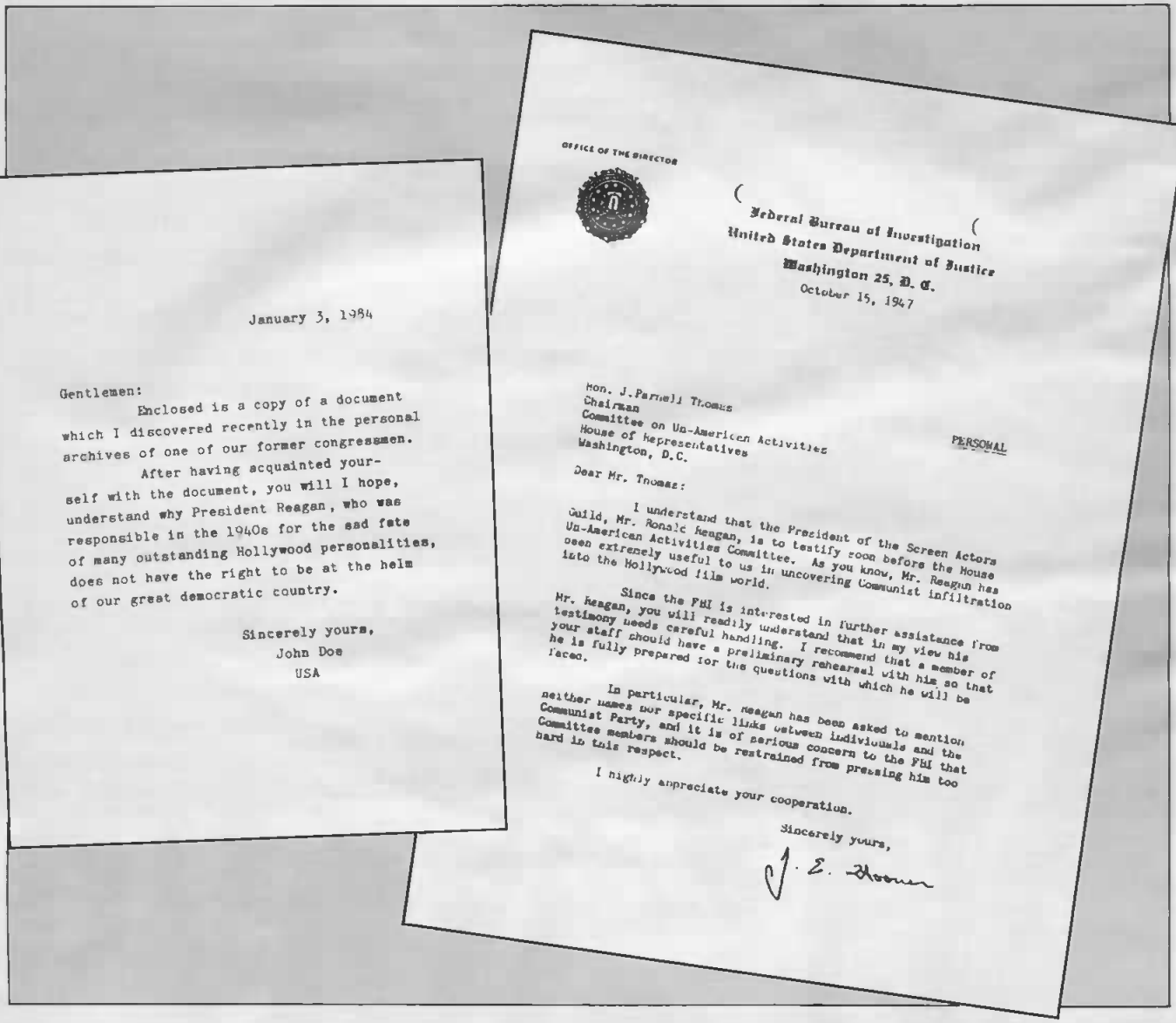
Between 1947 and 1953, HUAC called some 120 Hollywood producers, directors, actors and writers to testify. Witnesses had the choice of answering the Committee's question, "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"—then betraying friends by naming names—or refusing to answer and facing the certain loss of jobs, plus the possibility of jail for contempt of Congress. Yet HUAC never charged a single Hollywood artist with any illegal act, nor did it refer to anyone in the industry for criminal prosecution. It was, simply, an era when you cut your conscience to that year's fashion or you were blacklisted.

Of course, Hollywood was not the only part of American society effected by McCarthyism or the blacklist. Across America, the loyalty oath and the blacklist were enforced.

At the time, Ronald Reagan was the president of the Screen Actors Guild, and he was ready to testify on the "Communist menace" in Hollywood. From this letter, anonymously sent to *The Rebel*, it was apparent that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover lent his "useful" friend a helping hand.

The cycle of the blacklist depended upon informers like Ronald Reagan. It required friends to betray one another. From Hoover's letter to J. Parnell Thomas, it is obvious that future president Ronald Reagan was an active participant in this seamy process. Reagan was one of those who provided the tip, the whispering voice that led to the public outcry that some Americans were "un-American," that there were witches among us. ■

—G.G.



January 3, 1984

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is a copy of a document which I discovered recently in the personal archives of one of our former congressmen.

After having acquainted yourself with the document, you will I hope, understand why President Reagan, who was responsible in the 1940s for the sad fate of many outstanding Hollywood personalities, does not have the right to be at the helm of our great democratic country.

Sincerely yours,
John Doe
USA

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.
October 15, 1947

Hon. J. Parnell Thomas
Chairman
Committee on Un-American Activities
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

PERSONAL

Dear Mr. Thomas:

I understand that the President of the Screen Actors Guild, Mr. Ronald Reagan, is to testify soon before the House Un-American Activities Committee. As you know, Mr. Reagan has been extremely useful to us in uncovering Communist infiltration into the Hollywood film world.

Since the FBI is interested in further assistance from Mr. Reagan, you will readily understand that in my view his testimony needs careful handling. I recommend that a member of your staff should have a preliminary rehearsal with him so that he is fully prepared for the questions with which he will be faced.

In particular, Mr. Reagan has been asked to mention neither names nor specific links between individuals and the Communist Party, and it is of serious concern to the FBI that Committee members should be restrained from pressing him too hard in this respect.

I highly appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

J. E. Hoover

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